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GRAECO-ARABICA

VOLUME I 1982

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GRAECO-ARABICA. PURPOSE AND AIMS

The cultural interrelations between Greece and the Arabo-Islamic world have been numerous and diverse. The urgent need to evaluate data from various disciplines leads us to the publication of a special periodical which provides the necessary forum for articles on Greek-Arabic topics.

The focus of these studies mainly concentrates on the Greek-Roman and Byzantine background of the Arabo-Islamic world and Arabo-Islamic and Byzantine relations. The second issue of *Graeco-Arabica* will include, in addition, studies on the contemporary relations between Greece and the Arab countries. Moreover, it is our purpose to enlarge the scope of the periodical which will include in general studies on the relations between Greece, Asia and the African world.

Any suggestions and criticisms concerning the scope and subject matter of *Graeco-Arabica* will be deeply appreciated by the editorial committee.

We welcome contributions in one of the following languages: Arabic, English, French, German, Greek, Italian, Russian and Spanish.

V. CHRISTIDES
Associate Professor of Medieval
History of the Near East
University of Athens
Secretary of the Association
for Greek and Arabic Studies

M. PAPATHOMOPOULOS
Professor of Classics
University of Ioannina

FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON GREEK AND ARABIC STUDIES

The President and the General Secretary of the First International Congress on Greek and Arabic Studies are pleased to announce that this Congress will be held in Athens, on June 19 - 24, 1983, in the National Research Foundation (48, Vassileos Konstantinou Ave.).

We are expecting the participation of a large number of scholars specialized in Greek-Arabic Studies from all over the world.

The topics of the Congress are the following:

A. The Greek language in the Near East and North Africa (until the 12th cent.).

B. The influence of the Greek, Roman and Byzantine tradition on the creation of the Arabo-Islamic culture.

C. Byzantine and Arabo-Islamic relations (until the 13th cent.).

D. The influence of Hellenism in Africa.

An exhibition of Islamic art and books on Greek-Arabic topics will be also held.

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Associate Professor
of Medieval History of the Near East
University of Athens
General Secretary of the
Organizing Committee of the
First International Congress on
Greek and Arabic Studies

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First International Congress on
Greek and Arabic Studies

THE ASSOCIATION FOR GREEK AND ARABIC STUDIES IN THESSALONIKI

The Association for Greek and Arabic Studies was established in Thessaloniki in June 1980. It was felt that since Greece has had such close ties with the Arabic world for centuries, such an association acting as a vehicle for the expression of cultural exchange between these two worlds, was long overdue.

It is our belief that the establishment of the Association will help to bring about a deeper appreciation of the close historical and cultural links between the Greek and the Islamic civilizations; and we hope that it will enjoy the active support of everyone interested in Islamic culture, whether layman or specialist.

Moreover, it is hoped that the Association for Greek and Arabic Studies will become the first step for the establishmet of a Research Center of Greek-Arabic and, more generally, of Asiatic and African Studies in Greece.

N. KONOMIS
Professor of Classics
University of Thessaloniki
President of the Association
for Greek and Arabic Studies

GREEK TECHNICAL TERMS IN ARABIC SCIENCES

The transmission of Greek thought and science to the Orient and through its intermediary to the Occident long centuries before the rediscovery of direct Greek sources in the period of European renaissance and humanism at the beginning of our modern age is one of the most exciting adventures in the history of human culture. My purpose is to deal with some formal aspects of both direct and indirect transmission of Greek science in the Oriental (Syriac and Arabic) schools in order to point out some external rules, according to which this important cultural transplantation took place.

Two main turning dates from the point of view of our subject are the Hellenistic and the Islamic conquests. The former propagated a vigorous culture, practically, though not ultimately, represented by Aristoteles, the teacher of the young conqueror Alexander. The latter sprung from the vital vigour of a new religion destined to combine its new ideology with the Oriental heritage of the conquered countries in general and with the advanced influence of Greek thought and science in particular.

The Hellenization of the Orient set up especially by Alexander's conquest reached first of all the Aramaic population, whose Semitic idiom spread in the whole Near East from Persia to Egypt and was used as a diplomatic language by the late Assyrian and Iranian Achaemenid scribes and understood as a lingua franca of the Orient. This idiom was open to all kinds of foreign, namely Akkadian, Iranian and Greek influence, as they are attested in this language in its successive stages. As well as Coptic in Egypt, Aramaic esp. its Christian dialects Syriac and Syro-Palaestinian on Asian soil, were thoroughly saturated by Greek vocabulary, and even Greek syntax was so slavishly imitated that the particles γὰρ and δὲ became integral part of Syriac syntax. Since Greek was the language of administration, its influence upon Aramaic started already in pagan times, but its acme was reached after the early conversion of the Arameans to Christianity. It is typical for this new religion of Aramean origin that its basic books in the New Testament were not written in the Ara-

maic mother-tongue of Jesus and the Apostles but in Greek, and the holy book of the Apostles was not the Hebrew Old Testament, but its Greek traslation, the Septuagint. The oriental Christians recognized the importance of Greek language and were ready to depend on it. In this way, Christianity became the strongest vehicle of the Hellenization of the Near East. In order to develop their own theological thinking, the Christians could in no way reject the pagan legacy of Greece but had to make it an essential part of their own syllabus of learning [1].

Syriac schools, esp. those of Antioch, Nisibis and Edessa, cultivated Greek sciences. In the last two centuries before Islam, there already were several generations of translators from Greek into Syriac [2]. Greek science set firm foot in the Syro-Mesopotamian academies. After the expulsion of the Nestorians from the Byzantine empire and their taking refuge in Sasanid Iran, a competition in cultivating and translating Greek sciences started in both countries. Ḫosraw I Anōširwān (531 - 578) founded a new important academy in Gundī-Šāpūr, which became a counterpart of the school of Alexandria. Later, of course, academic instruction had to be given entirely in Syriac, but the study of Greek was not abandoned. The books of Galen, Hippocrates, Aristotle etc. continued to be translated and/or older translations with the whole translation-technique to be improved [3].

These ancient translations from Greek into Syriac constitute no easy lecture, but we have to bear in mind that 1) they were pioneer works, and 2) they were made for the exclusive use of scholars. The editor of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates, H. Pognon, characterized them quite plainly and exactly in the preface of his mentioned edition [4]: "They were often satisfied, in translating difficult passages, by describing a Greek word through a Syriac one, and moreover, they did not shrink from simple transcribing of not understood Greek words into Syriac letters and from giving their readers the trouble of guessing what they meant by their barbarisms". It is quite obvious that such literal transcriptions of hardly or only partly understood Greek expressions could only so

1. R. Walzer, p. 1f.
2. Baumstark (1922), p. 100 - 107; cf. O'Leary, p. 52.
3. O'Leary, p. 68 - 72.
4. Une version syriaque des aphorismes d'Hippocrate, texte et traduction par H. Pognon, Leipzig 1903, to which also C. Brockelmann in Praefatio to his *Lexicon Syriacum*, 1928, p. 111 refers; both cited by A. Schall, *Studien über griechische Fremdwörter im Syrischen*, Darsmtad 1960, p. 11 with n. 1; vgl. F. Rosenthal (1965), p. 22.

far escape further textual corruptions, as their copyists were able to recover their correct original Greek form. But according to the mentioned receptive character of Syriac, the translators were not able to get free from servile dependence upon the original and from continuing to introduce Greek words. Unlike Arabic which does not take over foreign elements without arabizing them, Syriac can be compared in this respect with modern Persian which, after the Islamic conquest, was completely invaded by Arabic words, forms and phrases, so that it is hardly possible to say a simple Persian sentence without using several Arabic words which often have no equivalents in the domestic fonds of the language. As a Persian translating from Arabic need not care about rendering the Arabic expressions used in his own language but leaves them in their place, so did also the Syriac translators leave in their place not only Greek words used in their language but introduced also the technical terms for which they found no adequate expressions, or which they could not shortly describe in an easily and commonly understandable way. These technical expressions simply transcribed in Syriac letters were certainly not considered as barbarisms — as Pognon called them — but as a sign of higher erudition and of respect for the language of science, of which the perfection seemed to be inimitable. When Greek words were used in common speech, why should they have been avoided especially in science? The use of Greek words in Syriac was more than a simple mode; the language could not dispense with it. When e.g. such a verb, as *qaṭreḡ* <*κατηγορεῖν* has become integral part of the vocabulary, by which other term should *qaṭīḡūrīyā* = κατηγορία and its plural *qaṭīḡūrīyās* have been replaced? Or how could other verbal and participal forms of this root in the rendering of Greek forms from the same root, such as the following, could be avoided: *mqaṭreḡ att* = κατηγορήσεις, *teṯqaṭreḡ* = κατηγορεῖσθαι, *neṯqaṭreḡ* or *meṯqaṭreḡ*, *-rḡā*, pl. *-ḡīn* = κατηγορεῖται, fem. pl. *-ḡān* = -ρεῖσθαι, or *hâw d-meṯqaṭreḡ* = τὸ κατηγορούμενον [5]. Modern Syriac dialects prove until our days that many common Greek words, such as *āḡūnē* <ἀγωνία, *ānānqāyā* <ἀναγκαῖος with the abstract noun *ānānqāyūtā*, *eqōnōmīyā* <οἰκονομία with the adjective *eqōnōmīyāyā*, *aqmā* <ἀκμή, *nāmōs* <νόμος, *qēwandēnōs* <κίνδυνος etc. [6] were by no means limited to literature but formed an essential part of the daily vocabulary of Syriac-speaking people. Under such circumstances, it would have been impos-

5. See Kh. Georr, *Les Catégories d'Aristote dans leur versions syro-arabes* (Beyrouth 1948), Register: Termes syriaques et arabes d'origine grecque, p. 411 s. vv.
6. See R. Macuch - E. Panoussi, *Neusyrische Chrestomathie* (Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1974), Glossar s. vv.

sible to expect from Syriac scholars to coin new expressions for the technical terms of Greek sciences. These became a common good of Syriac scholarship, were discussed in Syriac schools and understood by the students, as is proved by the fact that later, under the ʿAbbasid caliphate, further Nestorian translators used these Syriac translations instead of or besides Greek originals when translating into Arabic. And since — due to the specific character of the Arabic language — they were able to retain only a few Greek technical terms, they succeeded in a highly satisfactory way to create a new Arabic scientific terminology. About the end of the first millenary, a Syriac scholar Abu l-Ḥasan bar Bahlūl dedicated his very precious dictionary to the explanation of Greek loanwords in Syriaç enriched with quatotions from philosophical, theological, medical and other scientific sources, through which many lost works are, at least partly, known to us.

A new golden era of transmission of Greek sciences to the Orient began early under the ʿAbbasid caliphate, esp. under al-Ma'mūn (813-833) and al-Muʿtaṣim (833-842). It is noteworthy that none of these translators who transmitted the Hellenistic culture to the Arabic-speaking world, during more than two centuries (800 until about 1000 A.D.), was a Muslim [7]. Almost all of them were Christians, mostly Nestorians. Especially at the beginning, but sometimes also later, their knowledge of Arabic was not sufficient in order to fulfil their task satisfactorily. They often had to use a native expert of Arabic, and their translations needed several revisions; e.g. Ibn an-Nadīm says: *mar-lāḥī fī zamāninā ǧayyidu l-maʿrifa fī s-suryāniyya ʿaftiyyu l-alfāẓ, bi-l-ʿarabiyya yanqulu bain al-yadai ʿalī bni ibrāhīm ad-dahakī min as-suryānī ilà l-ʿarabī wa-yuṣliḥu naqlahu bnu d-dahakī* "Mar Lāḥī in our time [i.e. 10th cent. A.D.] excellent in Syriac, repulsing in Arabic expressions, is translating with the help of ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm Dahakī from Syriac into Arabic, and Dahakī is correcting his translation" [8]. Although already in the 9th cent. there were relatively good Arabic translations of Aristotle's Metaphysics and of a Neoplatonician Pseudo-Theology of Aristotle and probably also other works in the hands of the philosopher al-Kindī, made for his private use, and a contemporary of this philosopher, the Nestorian Ḥunain b. Isḥāq and his school consisting in the first line of his son Isḥāq b.

7. R. Walzer, p. 60; F. Rosenthal (1965), p. 19.

8. *K. al-Fihrist* (ed. Flügel) 244: 16 - 18 = (ed. Cairo) 355: 15-17 = (ed. Taǧaddod, Tehran) 305:6f., cited by Badawī (1968), p. 26 (where reference-pages to the editions of Flügel and Cairo cought to be corrected).

Ḥunain, and his nephew Ḥubaiš, established a very high translation-standard and already coined a scientific Arabic terminology, the translating process was not accomplished before the end of the 10th century. The translators had no critical editions of Greek texts in their hands and had to rely upon mediocre Greek manuscripts for Syriac translations, and they were also involved in an extremely difficult process of critical examination of their material and had to seek for better manuscripts, with the help of which they could improve the ancient translations. This was an endless process which could hardly have been accomplished in two centuries.

The greatest difficulty for creating a new Arabic scientific terminology consisted, of course, in the fact that the experts of Greek and Syriac translating into Arabic were non-Arabs who had to get into the depths of all possibilities and flexibilities of Arabic in order to produce this admirable historical wonder of expressing a highly developed science in a quite heterogeneous language which formerly had no needs and no means for this unknown stage of scientific expression. One could, under such circumstances, agree with Rosenthal [9] that sometimes it might perhaps have been helpful that the translators were non-Arabs and without prejudices for the questions of Arabic style and choice of expression. Otherwise, they could hardly have dared to introduce even such a minimum of Greek expressions, such as *usṭuquss* (⟨στοιχεῖον), *ha/uyūlā* (⟨ὕλη) etc., even if the introducing of expressions, like *falsafa*, *safsaṭa* etc., could hardly have been avoided, as no language in the world has replaced them by expressions from other non-Greek roots. But the main problem is the exact rendering of Greek technical terms and the creation of Arabic scientific terminology in which these "foreigners" so splendidly succeeded. Their efforts would in no way diminish if they had reached this aim after having introduced their native collaborators into all details of Greek science instead of discovering the new technical terms by themselves. Such an important and difficult task could hardly have been achieved by non-Arabs without native collaborators.

It appears that the most famous of the translators, Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq, who developed a very high critical method of translation described by himself [10] and whose translations reached a very high standard

9. *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, p. 22.

10. In: *Risālat Ḥunain b. Isḥāq ilà ʿAlī b. Yahyà fī ḏikr mā turǧima min kutub Ǧālīnūs bi-ʿilmihi wa baʿḍ mā lam yutarǧam, ed G. Bergsträsser, Über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen* (Leipzig 1925), p. 5.

praised by later Arabic writers[11], learned Arabic later in life, since the humbler classes of his native city, Ḥīra, used to speak only Syriac[12]. Even his son Isḥāq might still have inclined to Syriac rather than to Arabic spelling: he wrote *maḍā* with an *aliph*[13], which is the common Syriac spelling of the verbs III *y*. There may have been, in his manuscripts, many similar Middle Arabic forms, used by the Christians and Jews in their Arabic writings, which were simply corrected by later copyists, according to the rules of the classical language[14]. But the thirst for Greek science in the Muslin world of the 8th - 10th centuries was so great that the Arabs gladly excused the unclassical spelling and other language deficiencies of these cultivated bilinguists and multinlinguists in order to get access to these inappreciable cultural treasures. Through the efforts of these non-Muslim translators Greek expressions passed into Arabic in the following ways: 1) Names of authors and their works retained their original forms transcribed into Arabic letters according to the pronunciation known to the translators and possible to the Arabs. 2) A few technical terms were also retained in an approxinate Greek form. 3) The most technical terms, however, were translated into Arabic in an admirable exact way. And finally 4) Greek thought affected even such specifically Arabic disciplines, as the grammar and Muslim theology and jurisprudence.

1 - 2

Greek names, titles and technical terms are, in spite of all deficiencies of Arabic script and corruptions by the copyists, not entirely deprived of historico-phonetical interest. Although some rare proper names and titles were distorted through miscopying to such a degree that they can hardly be identified, the number of those which have been transmitted correctly or, at least, satisfactorily is much greater and sufficient to give us a picture of the kind of Greek known to the translators, of the pronunciation they heard and used, of the method and rules they develop-

11. *aṣ-Ṣafadī, al-Ġaiṯ al-musaǧǧam* (Cairo 1305 H.), I, 46, quoted by ʿĀMILĪ, *Kaškul* (Cairo 1380 H.), I, 388; German translation by F. ROSENTHAL (1965), 33f.; cf. R. WALZER, p. 80ff., esp. 83 n. 1; ʿA. BADAWĪ (1968), p. 33f. and I. MADKOUR (1969), p. 32f. (where on p. 32 n. 6 further references to Ḥunain's life and work are given).

12. See O'LEARY, p. 68, cf. also p. 184 (Note 4, page 66) as to the city of Ḥīra.

13. *hākaḏā fī d-dastūr bi-ḫaṭṭ Isḥāq maḍā bi-alif* "so in Isḥāq's autographic manuscript: *maḍā* with aliph", Kh. Georr, no. 67: text p. 381, transl. p. 176; cited by R. Walzer, p. 70.

14. R. WALZER, 1. c.

ed for its transcription as well as of the treatment of these foreign elements by the copyists.

The transcription problem was facilitated by the fact that the translators were used to Syriac transcriptions of Greek which they could, at least partly, imitate also in Arabic. But due to specific phonetic differences between these two languages, further accomodations of the Syriac transcription system were necessary. This appears already in the labials, where Arabic is missing Greek π, but possesses a better sound for Greek φ originally missing in Syriac and replaced by a spirantized *pē*. Therefore, Arabic *b* was introduced to transcribe not only Greek β, but also π, e.g. *abāġūġī* = ἀπαγωγή[15]; *Buqrāṭ*, further arabized on the basis of popular etymology to *Abū-Qarāṭ*, "Hippocrates"; similarly was "Empedocles" mostly altered to *Ibn Daqlis*, although a more original from *Anbādūqlīs* is attested[16]; *b(y)rḫs* "Hipparchus"[17]; *abīḏīmīyā* = ἐπιδημίαι[18]; *būlīṭīqūs* = πολιτικός[19]; *Brmnyds* = Παρμενίδης[19] etc. But unfortunately, *f* was not used only to designate the original φ, as in the commonly accepted Greek words, like *falsafa*, *safsaṭa*, *ǧuġrāfīya* etc., but (probably under Syriac influence) also p, which was better transcribed by *b*, although this rendering did not correspond to the exact Greek pronunciation. This unjustified concurrence of *f* with *b* in transcribing π produced such incorrect forms, like *fīnaks* = πίναξ[20], *âfī* = τὰ ἔπη[21], *'fyqy* = ἐπικὴ[21] etc., which could be transcribed in Syriac only with a not spirantized *pē*, and,therefore, the example of Syriac orthography should not have been followed in Arabic, where *f* is an exclusive spirant sound. But much more serious difficulties were produced by ignorant copyists who did not understand these words and, without caring for the correct transmission of the text, changed the diacritical points, which were already often missing in the manuscript, from which they were copying, and perverted *b* to *n* and *f* to *q* or vice versa.

Lesser were the difficulties concerning the other consonantal series, in which the translators could rely upon the common Aramaic and He-

15. R. WALZER, p. 89: ult.

16. *Theologie des Pseudoaristoteles* (ed. Dieterici), p. 11; cited by STEINSCHNEIDER, p. (46).

17. FLÜGEL, *Kitāb al-Fihris*, 11, p. 124; STEINSCHNEIDER, p. (224).

18. *Risālat Ḥunain* (ed. Bergsträsser), 41:18

19. Ibid. 50:17.

20. Ibid. 2:10; cf. the common Syr. *penqīṯā* (still used, v. MACUCH - PANOUSSI, op. c. 110a s.v.). There is also an Arabic var. *bīnaks*, see STEINSCHNEIDER, p. (322f.).

21. WALZER, p. 105; cf. the Syriac form in BROCKELMANN, *Lex. Syr.* 39b.

brew transcription rules. In the series of dentals, the Aramaic and Hebrew orthography used *t*, which could be spirantized, for θ, and the emphatic *ṭ* for the not spirantized τ. In general, there was no special need to deviate from this rule in Arabic, but as the Arabs also have the interdental *ṯ* and *ḏ*, they often used them where in Aramaic and Hebrew spirantized *t* and *d* were used, e.g. *'wṯyḏyms* for Εὐθύδημος[22], *uṯulūǧiyya* or *ṯa/ulūǧiyya* for θεολογία[23], *ayūbāṯīsis* = ὑπόθεσις[24] etc. It is obvious that the aim of using these specific Arabic letters was to indicate exactly the spirantization of Greek pronunciation. The carelessly written diacritical points of *ṯ* could, of course, easily be simplified to *t* as well as the point of *ḏ* could be omitted, cf. *abūdiksis* = ἀπόδειξις[24].

More complicated was the transcription of the palatals. The more or less consistent Aramaic and Hebrew rule to transcribe γ with *g*, χ with *k* and κ with *q* was, in principle, followed also by the translators into Arabic. Although the palatalised Arabic *ǧ* did hardly satisfactorily express the hard Greek γ and the velar *ġ* would have better fulfilled this purpose, it was predominantly used as an etymological equivalent of the Syriac *gāmal*, cf. *uṯulūǧiyya*, *abāġūǧi*, *ǧuġrāfiyya*, already quoted, *īsāġūǧī* = εἰσαγωγή, *al-maǧisṭī* = ἡ μεγίστη[25] etc. But we have just seen that in words containing two γ (:*abāġūǧī*, *isāġūǧī*, *ǧuġrāfiyya*) one was rendered by *ġ*, and although - λογία was commonly transcribed as *-lūǧiyya*, there is also a term *lūġiyā*, used by al-Hwārizmī[26] for logic. The special reason for using two Arabic palatals for Greek γ in the same word seems to be its different pronunciation, *ġ* having been the special Arabic transcription of the spirantized *g*, even if it was not consistently used for this purpose. Still less consistent was the rendering of χ, for which three main transcriptions were used: a) Since in Syriac this sound used to be transcribed by a spirantized *ḵ*, the translators sometimes used the occlusive Arabic *k*, although this corresponded quite in adequately to the spirantic Greek χ, cf. *al-kīmūs*, used by the translators *Ṯ*ābit, Šamlī and Ḥubaiš as a translation of περὶ εὐχυμίας, a word which was confused with χυμὸς and transcribed also as *al-ḫīmūs*[27]; more consistent is *al-kīmiyā* (Syr. *kīmiyā*) = χημ(ε)ία, ultimately of Egyptian origin, which passed into Latin as alchimia, *al-iskūl* (Syr. *sḵōlē*) = σχολή etc., which

22. *Risālat Ḥunain* (ed. Bergsträsser), 50:17.
23. *Fihrist*, p. 252: 4; Steinschneider, p. (113), (115f.).
24. Walzer, p. 90 n. 2.
25. Steinschneider, p. (192); O'Leary, p. 32, 152f.; 157.
26. *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* (Cairo 1324 H.), p. 85, cited by Madkour, p. 51 n. 3.
27. See Steinschneider, p. (342).

though arabized — follow the Syriac way of transcription. b) A better phonetic rendering, corresponding exactly to Greek pronunciation, was by means of *ḫ* which, however, competed c) with *š*, according to Syriac and Coptic usage[28]; cf. *b(y)rḫs* "Hipparchus"[29] etc., or similar names with simple misplacing of the diacritical dot, like *Arǧīǧānis* (read *Arḫī-?*) "Archigenes", to which there is also a variant *'ršyǧānis*, supplying the other reading possibility *Aršīǧānis*[30]; ἐντελέχεια is transcribed several times as *anṭalāšiyā*, but the form *anṭalāḫiya* was still known to Avicenna[31]; the name of Archimedes *Aršimīdas*[32] was transformed in Latin translations from Arabic to Ersemides, Arthamides and Arsimenides[33].

An unusual rendering of χ by *q* encounters in *usṭuquss* (pl. *usṭuqussāt*), an adoption of Syr. *esṭōḵsā* ⟨στοιχεῖον, which probably came into existence under the formal influence of στοῖχος[34]. This is quite an exceptional case, but it is hardly surprising that a word which was only inexactly reproduced in Syriac wandered still farther from its original Greek form in Arabic.

Ξ and Ψ were considered as combined sounds and transcribed with *ks* and *fs*. This transcription caused no difficulties in obviously foreign words, cf. *fīnaks*[20], *abūdiksis*[24], *aksiyūmā* = ἀξίωμα[35], or even with *qs*, cf. *ṭaqs* = τάξις[36], from which even a verb *ṭaqqasa* (similarly to Syr. *ṭakkes*) was formed, etc. although in words, passed earlier into

28. Cf. Walzer, p. 90 n. 6 with reference to E. Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik I, München 1939, p. 206f.
29. See above, n. 17.
30. *Fihrist*, p. 288:23; in the annotations, vol. II, 137, a variant *'rs[y = n?]ǧānis* (Ibn al-Qifṭī, p. 105) is mentioned and, accordingly an emendation **Arsanǧānis* is proposed, which obviously deviates from the original name form, which most probably is to be read **Aršīǧānis* (by inadvertent omission of the diacritical points of *š* and *y*); cf. Steinschneider, p. (371f.).
31. Cf. Walzer, p. 90, with n. 6 with references to Nā'ima's translation of the "Theology of Aristotle" as to the former and to Margoliouth, Analecta etc., p. 108, as to the latter. Both forms occur several times also in translations of Aristotle's Psychology, cf. H. Gätje, *Studien zur Überlieferung der aristotelischen Psychologie im Islam* (Heidelberg 1971), p. 34, with a reference to C. Brockelmann, *Grundriß*, I, 122, where several examples of the passing of χ to *š* in Arabic dialects are mentioned.
32. *Fihrist*, 266, II, 122; Steinschneider, p. (172f.).
33. Steinschneider, see n. 32.
34. G. Hoffmann, *De hermeneuticis apud Syros Aristoteleis* p. 158, cited by A. Schall, p. 77.
35. Walzer, 90 n. 2.
36. Ibid. 91:1, with reference to Nā'ima's translation of the "Theology of Aristotle"; see foll. n.

Arabic, these consonantal groups were changed by metathesis, cf. *al-Iskandar* "Alexander", *isfi/ant* ⟨ἀψίνθιον etc.[37]).

Apart from frequent miscopyings, esp. omissions or wrong use of the diacritical dots, there are no serious problems with the rendering of other Greek letters. But there still are several phonetic phenomena, according to which Greek words were further adapted to Arabic. As this language tolerates no consonantal groups at the beginning of the word, the use of the prosthetic *aliph* has become much more frequent than in Syriac. This helping vowel has become extremely frequent and is used in all words and names beginning with a consonantal group, so far as this group was not dissolved by an interposed vowel, cf. *al-Iskandar* "Alexander", *Aflāṭūn* "Platon", *I/Aqrīṭūn* "Kriton"[38] etc. Moreover, a superfluous prosthetic *aliph* is often used, when the word begins with no consonantal group, e.g. *uṯulūǧiyya* = *ṯalūǧiyya* θεολογία[23]; *If(i)līmūn*, miscopied also as *Qalīmūn*, tentatively identified with Πολέμων or Φιλήμων, latinized as "Palaemon"[39] etc. On the other hand, some names were affected by aphaeresis, cf. *Buqrāṭ*, *ṯalūǧiyya* besides *uṯulūǧiyya; Ṭūlūq(us)* besides *Uṭūlūqus* (and varr.), identified with "Autolykos"[40] etc. Other words were syncopated or contracted, cf. *bārīmāniyās* Περὶ ἑρμηνείας[41], *qaṭīṭrīyūn* κατ' ἰητρεῖον[42] etc. And finally, some words esp. the longer ones, were not rarely apocopated: Aristoteles is known as *Arisṭūṭālis*, but also in a shorter form *Ari/asṭū;* σχολή, which was taken over into Syriac in its original Greek form, was apocopated as *al-iskūl* etc.

The spiritus asper, which was reproduced in Syriac with great consistency, was still marked with an initial *h*, even if the pronunciation of the word was, otherwise, considerably changed. The most frequent example of this kind is *hayūlà* ὕλη, occuring in Syriac in the form *hyūlē*, but also *hūlā* and *hīlā*, which will also interest us in other respects; cf. also *harāsīn* = αἱρέσεων in Ḥunain's translation from Galen's "Book of the Sects"[43]. But there are also many cases, in which the spiritus asper has

37. FRÄNKEL, *Aramäische Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, p. 115; C. BROCKELMANN, *Grundriß*, I 269f. and 662 with an addendum to p. 270, l. 2: "taxis⟩*ṭaqs*, *ṭasq* Fleischer, Kl. Schr. III, 615".

38. *Fihrist* 293: 12, II, 139; STEINSCHNEIDER, p. (377f.).

39. *Fihrist* 314: 10, II, 155: STEINSCHNEIDER, p. (145f.).

40. *Fihrist* 268: 10, II, 123: STEINSCHNEIDER p. (213), where in n. 1 the shorter form (according to MS. Leyden 1642) is quoted.

41. *Risālat Ḥunain* (ed. Bergsträsser) 51:18, varr. *bārīmīniyās* ibid., *bārminiyās* BADAWI (1968), p. 76.

42. Ibid. 43:3, varr. *qatitiyun (Fihrist)*, *qaṣytrun* (careless miscopying, Ibn al-Qifti).

43. STEINSCHNEIDER, p. (331).

been neglected, cf. *Īrāqlīṭus* Ἡράκλειτος[44], *ayūbātisīs* = ὑπόθεσις[24 45] etc., in *Buqrāṭ* the whole initial syllable was left out, but its presumably more original form **Ibūqrāṭ*, which through its written form offered itself so excellently to a popular Arabic etymology *Abū-Qarāṭ*, might prove that the spiritus asper in the pronunciation of this name had already been neglected. But on the other hand, the exaggerated Syriac-zeal in reproducing each spiritus asper was no more advantageous, since this language often rendered also many a spiritus lenis, esp. in the prefixes ἀπ(ο)-, ἐπ(ι)- ὀπ- and εὐ- with an initial *h*-.

As to the pronunciation of vowels in these foreign names and words, there could naturally have been no unity. Their pronunciation started to differ quite early and the differences continued to grow through the ages. Let us mention only a few specific examples of how far this pronunciation got from the original. The word φιλόσοφος retained its original pronunciation in Syriac, where it is used in the emphatic state *pīlōsōpā*, but the Arabs, tending for brevity, rejected the ending and changed also the pronunciation to *faylasūf*, from which they form a broken plural *falāsifa*. The tendency for brevity and acclimatization of Greek words caused that φιλοσοφία, taken over in exactly the same form (*pīlōsōpīyā)* into Syriac, was shortened to *falsafa*, from which a verb *falsafa* and *tafalfasa* "to philosophize" was derived. The Greek compound noun gave birth to a new simple and practical verbal root, which is even not possible in the original language, since it means more than φιλεῖν σοφίαν. Similarly, *safsaṭa* was used for σοφιστική (Syriac simply *sōpīsṭīqī*) and *safsaṭī* or *ahl as-safsaṭa* for σοφιστής (Syriac mostly *sōpīsṭā*), and the formerly used term *sfsṭs*[46] or *sūfisṭīs*[47] was abandoned. As to *hayūlà*, which got a fixed place in Arabic philosophical vocabulary, its strange vocalisation is due to the Syriac form *hyūlē*, which as well as its variants *hūlā* and *hīlā*, is concerned with the exact rendering of the Greek υ. All three variants prove that this vowel represented a sound between *i* and *u* (: ü), and as neither *i* nor *u* alone was able to indicate this peculiar pronunciation, the Syriac scribes used both *yod* and *waw* after each other. The final -η was originally written with an *ālap̄* preceded by a *rwāṣā karyā* (*ē*) but was later confused with the status emph. sg., of which the final *ālap̄* is preceded by a *zqāpā (ā)*. This gave birth to a strange pro-

44. S. M. AFNAN (1969), p. 19 s.v.

45. In spite of Syr. *hūpaṭasīs* and adj. *hūpāṭāṭīqos* ὑποθετικὸς.

46. STEINSCHNEIDER, p. 58); BADAWI (1968), p. 36.

47. *Risālat Ḥunain* (ed. Bergsträsser) 50:16.

nunciation *h(i)yūlā*, which was taken over by the Arabs, at the time of their borrowing this Graeco-Syriac technical term and was later changed to *hayūlā*, or — though less often — by vocal harmony, to *huyūlā*.

It is, however, noteworthy that the final *-ā* of this word is mostly — though not exclusively — written with *y*, not with a prolongation-*aliph*. This might indicate that a more original pronunciation of the final *-η* was still known at the time of the borrowing of this word. But the means for transcribing this vowel were as imperfect in Arabic as in Syriac script, and in the adjective *hayūlānī* "material" and in the abstract noun *hayūlāniyya* "materiality, materialism" this vowel had anyhow to pass to *a* as well as in Syriac (adj.: *hūlānā[yā]*, abstr. noun *hūlānāyūṯā*). It might also have been under the influence of these forms that the pronunciation of this loan-word with the final *-ā* prevailed.

In connection with the noteworthy spelling of *hayūlà* with a final *-y* which might well indicate an original pronunciation *h(i)yūlī*, and of other transcriptions of *η* by *y*, we come to the problem of itacism. It would be very interesting to know how far this phenopenon of the later and the actual Greek pronunciations had progressed at the time when Arabic orthography of Greek loan-words was fixed. In fact, spellings, like *abīḏīmīyā* ἐπιδημίαι [18], *qaṭīṭrīyūn* κα:' ἰητρεῖον [42], *sūfisṭīs* for σοφιστής [46], *al-mağisṭī* ἡ μεγίστη [25], *īsāğūğī* εἰσαγωγή, *'fyqy* ἐπικὴ [21] etc., would suggest, that the itacism was an accomplished phenomenon at that time. But Arabic had no proper means for the transcription of the original *η* as well as of the diphthongs αι, ει and οι. And on the other hand, the prolongation-*aliph* was often used to transcribe a long *ē* (or even short *e*) corresponding to *η* (or ε) as well as to the contrancted diphthongs αι, ει, οι, cf. *bārīmānīyās* Περὶ ἑρμηνείας [41], *Arḫ/šīğānis* 'Αρχιγένης [30], *Ḏiyūğānis* Διογένης [48], *Ṯāmisṭiyūs* Θεμιστεῖος [49], Under such circumstances, it would be extremely difficult to expect from Arabic transcriptions of Greek names and words any reliable information about the details of their pronunciation at the time of their passing into Arabic, especially if we consider not only the insufficiencies of Arabic script and the many discrepancies in the graphical reproduction of the same sounds, but also the corruptions and distortions of Greek names committed by later copyists.

The aim of the Arabs was not to learn Greek and to imitate its original way of expression, as it was done in Syriac, but to learn and cultivate

48. S. Afnan (1969), p. 107b.
49. H. Gätje (1971), p. 21.

Greek sciences in their own language. As a matter of fact, the high amount of Greek names and titles, of which the pronunciation was extremely difficult to the Arabs, must have been considered as an unpleasant ballast by the copyists who were often perplexed at these strange forms written in a deficient script with omitted or incorrectly placed diacritical dots, through which alone whole series of letters differ from each other. No wonder that they tried to simplify them, as they could, and they also applied some popular etymologies in order to adopt them to the spirit of Arabic language, as *Abū-Qarāṭ* for *Buqrāṭ* "Hippocrates", *Ibn Daqlis* for *Anbādūqlīs* and varr. for "Empedocles" [16]. But their alterations of Greek names have been surpassed by Latin translators from Arabic who not only changed the Arabic names *al-Kindī*, *Ibn Sīnā*, *al-Ġazālī*, *Ibn Bāğa*, *Ibn Rušd* etc. to Alecendi, Avicenna, Algazel, Avempace, Averrhoes but altered also some Greek names of Arabic translations [33].

This was not the first meeting of Arabic with Greek, since centuries ago, Arabic took over, through Aramaic intermediary, many common Greek words, which were completely arabized, and from which also broken plurals were formed, e.g. *zawğ* ζεῦγος — pl. *azwāğ* (den. verb *zawwağa*), *ğins* γένος — pl. *ağnās*, *nāmūs* νόμος — pl. *nawāmīs*, *qānūn* κανών — pl. *qawānīn* etc. These were also used in Arabic translations and might have been considered as models for the arabizing of other Greek expressions. But the influx of Arabic words in the centuries of translating from Greek was so strong, and they were so disparate that it was no more possible to arabize them in such a sudden and simple way. Therefore, in the course of time, some of them were simplified, as far as it was possible and some others bound to specific philosophical and scientific notions were retained, even if their Arabic equivalents were known, as *usṭuquss*, instead of which sometimes *'unṣur* is used, or *hayulà*, which al-Farābī used in a hendiadys *al-mādda wa-l-hayūlà*, and which al-Kindī and others sometimes replaced by *ṭīna* [50].

3

As all Greek technical terms, introduced into Arabic by the non-Muslim translators, could not easily be arabized, and the Arabs were not in the position to consider this situation as satisfactory, the coining of a new scientific terminology, which would exactly correspond to the

50. See S. Afnan (1969) s. vv.; as to *ṭīna*, cf. Steinschneider, p. (134), Badawi (1968), p. 32, and Gätje (1971), p. 35.

notions of Greek sciences, was necessary. The way in which the Arabs succeeded to transform the language of the desert into the finest instrument of subtle abstract thinking is one of the most admirable in the history of human culture. It cannot be my intention to examine the whole endless mass of material in this respect. It can be done only in the form of a comparative Dictionary of Graeco-Syriac-Arabic philosophical and scientific terminologies, the necessity of which was pointed out by Steinschneider [51] ninety years ago, but which still is a desideratum. Only such a Dictionary could give us a full and rapid survey of the vast mass of material for a complete study of the creation and development of Arabic philosophical and scientific vocabulary. But the proportions of what the Arabs retained from Greek and what they replaced by Arabic would be about the same as in Kh. Georr's index of Syriac and Arabic technical terms of Greek origin, appended to his edition of the Syro-Arabic version of Aristotle's Categories [52]. Whereas there are about forty expressions taken from Greek in Syriac, there are only six in Arabic.

How did the Arabs find the exact rendering of Greek terms in their own language? The inner history of this difficult task can never be sufficiently investigated. I would like to adduce only a few typical examples of these difficulties, as they were already discussed in scholarly literature.

The greatest difficulty consisted in the different structure of both languages. As one of the most typical examples may, therefore, be considered the category ἔχειν, for which Arabic is missing a corresponding verb, which is therefore, commonly expressed by *lahū*. But already in the translation of the Categories we find a critical note, which might go down to Yahya b. ʿAdī, or even Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn: "He said this according to Greek usage. They really say — instead of what the Arabs say: *ʿAlayhi ṯawb* 'upon him is a vestment' — *lahū ṯawb* 'he has a vestment', and similarly instead of *ʿalayhī ḫātam* 'on him is a ring' — *lahu ḫātam* 'he has a ring'. And again: "Instead of what the Arabs say: *inna l-kīla fīhi kaḏā wa-d-dann fīhi kaḏā* "a dry-measure contains this and a jar contains that', the Greeks say: *al-kīl lahū kaḏā wa-d-dann lahū kaḏā* 'a dry-measure has this and a jar has that'" [53]. This criticism shows not only how diametrical both languages were in their way of expression, but also that the Arabs used

51. op. c., p. 6 (6).

52. op. c., pp. 409 - 412.

53. Kh. Georr, No. 131f., text, p. 386, transl. 386; both cited by Walzer, p. 73.

several particular ways of expressing a Greek verb which was and is totally missing in their language. Such critical comments could be made only by the translators themselves, or by people revising their translations with good knowledge of both languages. Nevertheless, *lahu* was retained in the translation as the closest possible rendering of ἔχειν. The translators dared not replace a Greek verb by an Arabic noun. But the philosophers did not seem to be satisfied with this expression as a logical term and preferred to use *al-milk* [54] or *al-ǧida* [55] "possession" instead. The use of *milk* derived from *malaka* "to possess" is quite natural for the category of possession and could be considered as the first word, of which the Arabs might have thought in order to replace *lahu*. The parallel term *ǧida*, however, deriving from *waǧada* "to find", could, in spite of the manifold semantic spectrum of this verb, hardly be introduced without foreign intermediary. As this term is mostly used by Iranian philosophers, one inclines to suspect an Iranian origin. In Persian, the verb *peydā kardan* "to find" acquired very early the meaning of *dāštan* "to have" and is still used with this meaning even with Arabic *maṣdars* and nouns, e.g. *nufūḏ peydā kard* means both *nufūḏ dašt* and *nufūḏ dārad* "he had(/s) influence"; *maraḍ peydā kard* means not only "he was ill" (lit. "he found an illness") but also in the present "he is ill". I can hardly imagine that *ǧida* could have become a serious concurrence for *milk* without the semantic influence of Persian *peydā kardan* on Arabic *waǧada*. This hypothesis is corroborated by the most ancient Treatise of Logic in the Islamic world, written by a Persian about a century before the translation of Ḥunain b. Isḥāq. In the library of the Shiite sanctuary in Mašhad, there is a "Compendium of Logic" *(Talḫīṣ al-manṭiq)* attributed to ʿAbdullah b. al-Muqaffaʿ (d. 759), who probably knew no Greek but was acquainted with Greek science in Pahlavi translations. He might have been the first scholar who tried to inform the Islamic world of the Aristotelian logic more than a century before Ḥunain. The mentioned book is no translation but a free composition based on the Aristotelian logic. From the point of view of technical terminology, there are many differences between this book and the later traslations of Ḥunain and his school. Unfortunately, this in all respects remarkable man fell into disgrace, was executed at the age of 36 years, and [illegible]

54. *Ibn Sīnā, K. an-naǧāt* (1331 H.), p. 128, *Dānešnāme-ye ʿAlāʾī* (ed. *Moʿīn*), p. 30; *ʿUmar b. Sahlān as-Sāwī, al-Baṣāʾir an-naṣīriyya* (1316 H. = 1898), p. 34; cf. *Quṭb ad-Din Šīrāzī, Durrat at-tāǧ* (ed. *Meškāt) III*, p. 98; passim.

55. *Ibn Sina, K. aš-Šifā, Manṭiq; al-Ġazālī, Miʿyār al-ʿilm* (1329 H.), p. 184; cf Šīrāzī, 1. c.; passim.

the translations of Ishaq and his school were favoured, his mentioned "Compendium of Logic" fell into oblivion, although it contained many genuine Arabic expressions which could successfully concur with the terminology of the later translators. But let us return to the category of "possession". Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ says: "*ṯumma waǧadnā ašyā'an uḫrà taǧrī fī l-kalām ka-qawli l-qā'ili: kāsin, ṭā'imun, ahilun fa-ltamasnā li-ḏālika sman ǧāmiʿan fa-waǧadnāhu l-ǧida(ta)* "Then we found other notions in the speech, as *kāsin* (who has clothes), *ṭāʿimun* (who has food), *āhilun* (who has a family). We sought for a common name for them and we found it *ǧida* (possession)"![56]

But there are also other terms unusual or of rare use in the Arabic logic found in Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's mentioned book. It is noteworthy that for Greek οὐσία which is commonly translated by a word of Persian origin *ǧawhar* (<Pahl. *gōhr*, *gōhrīh*)[57] he, as a Persian, did not use this Iranian word but replaced it by the genuine Arabic *ʿayn*, which in spite of its Arabic origin, perhaps on account of its ambiguity was later abandoned. As to πότε and χρόνος, for which Ḥunain's school introduced the Iranian *zamān*[58], he used the Arabic *waqt*; and for *nawʿ al-anwāʿ* he used the equally good Arabic *ṣūrat aṣ-ṣuwar* which would even be a better rendering of εἶδος τῶν ἰδεῶν[59]. We cannot say that all technical terms used by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ were better than those used by the

56. MS of the sanctuary Mašhad fo. 9, cited by Muḥammad Hwānsārī in: *Maǧalle-ye dāneškade-ye adabiyyāt Tehrān*, IV, p. 10, to whom I am indebted for having drawn my attention to this subject. See l.c. 9f. also the following terms of logic used by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (MS. fo. 6f.). The outstanding personality of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ has received so much deserved appreciation in scholarly literature that quotations would fill long pages, cf. recently F. Rundgren (1976), p. 138ff. in indirect connection with Arabic Grammar. It is, however, not necessary to agree with his opinion concerning Ibn al-Muqaffaʿs translations of Aristotelian writings based of P. Kraus: "Nach Ṣaʿīd al'Andalusi (gest. 1070, vgl. GAL I S. 419), GALS I S. 585f). soll er von Aristoteles Die Kategorien, De interpretatione und die Analytik übersetzt haben, eine Angabe, die jedoch und wie es es scheint mit Recht, von P. Kraus als unrichtig bezeichnet wurde (Rivista degli studi orientali 14/1934 S. 1ff., vgl. ibidem, Nallino S. 133)"; similarly Madkour, *Organon*, p. 31f. with reference to Kraus' article. There is no convincing reason to ascribe the mentioned Compendium of Aristotelian logic to his son Muḥammad. This was also the opini n of the best Iranian specialist of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, ʿAbbās Eqbāl (*Šarḥ-e ḥāl-e Ibn Moqaffaʿ*, Berlin 1306 H., p. 50). He could well have become acquainted with Aristotelian writings through Pahlawi translations, see Hwānsārī, l. c. p. 9 n. 1).

57. S. Afnan (1969), p. 57 s. v.

58. Ibid., p. 117 f. s. v.

59. Ibid., p. 302 s. v. *nawʿ al-anwāʿ*.

later translators, but they were equally good and incontestably Arabic. Even if he knew no Greek, he seems to have possessed exact knowledge of Greek logic, and what is most admirable, he succeeded to transmit it from the imperfect and ambiguous Pahlavi script into his second language, of which he was an unequalled master.

Whereas for Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ there seemed to be no special problems in finding corresponding genuine Arabic expressions for the notions of Greek logic, these problems existed for the translators of the 9th and 10th centuries. There are many instances of possibilities of rendering a Greek term in several ways in Arabic of which two equally suitable rivalled with each other. Ihn Suwār recorded some variants of other manuscripts, from which we get an idea of parallel terms by different translators and revisors of the same texts. This practice was partly followed also by other translators and copyists. E. g. for κατεγορεῖσθαι, both *al-maqūl fī* and *al-maḥmūl ʿalà* were used[60]. The former has got into the official title of the categories *al-maqūlāt*, but *ḥaml* was often preferred in the strict sense of 'predication' by Ibn Rušd and others[61]. Both expressions remained in parallel use and neither of them was able to drive out the other.

Apart from Ḥunain and his school, an important work in coining Arabic philosophical terminology was done by Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī (d. 873), a cont mporary of Ḥunain. According to Ibn Ǧulǧul[62], repeated by Ibn al-Qifṭī[63] and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa[64], "al-Kindi translated many books of philosophy". This information has, however, been debated by Badawī who understands *tarǧama* as "explained", not as "translated". But in spite of this opinion, Badawī himself brings proofs of al-Kindī's exact etymological knowledge of Greek technical terms for which he created the Arabic equivalents. E.g. for συλλογισμὸς (*sullūǧismūs*, pl. *sullūǧismūsāt* of older translations) he used *al-ǧāmiʿa*, corresponding exactly to the etymological meaning of the Greek word, similarly his use of *ṭīna*[50] for *hayūlà* and some others[66]. Some of his good technical terms were later abandoned, as those of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ were completely forgotten. E.g. *al-ǧāmiʿa*, implying also several other mean-

60. Walzer, p. 89.

61. Ibid.

62. *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' wa-l-ḥukamā'* (ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, Cairo) 1955, pp. 73f.

63. *Ta'rīḫ al-ḥukamā'* (ed. Müller-Lippert, Leipzig 1903), I, p. 207.

64. *ʿUyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'* (ed. Müller, Cairo 1884), I, p. 207.

65. Badawi (1968), p. 26 - 31.

66. Ibid. p. 31f.

ings, was commonly replaced by *qiyās*[67] which practically conveys the meaning of "syllogism" and implies no ambiguity. It has also become a technical term of Arabic grammar and jurisprudence[68].

To get the sense, not the letter of Greek science was the aim of the Arabs coining their own philosophical and scientific terminology. Unlike the Syriac Christians, they became no slaves of Greek expression, but its masters in their own language. And like the Greeks themselves, they "succeeded in building up a rich abstract language almost without linguistic borrowings from outside, and this is an additional incentive to trying to understand this important achievement of the Arabs" (Walzer, p. 91).

4

But there was also indirect transmission of Greek thought which left its traces in such specific Arabic and Muslim domains, as Arabic grammar and Muslim theology and jurisprudence.

As to the Grammar, there are two opposite views: a) the Arabic grammar is so specifically Arabic that it underwent almost no foreign influence[69]; b) the Arabic grammar stood under Greek influence from its very beginnings and could hardly develop without it[70]. Most scholars since Renan[71] to Fleisch[72], took a middle position between these two extremities; they mean that Arabic grammar might have undergone some influences of Greek logic, but, in spite of that, it remained purely Arabic. Recently, almost about the same time, two important studies about this subject appeared: a paper of a Swedish scholar F. Rundgren, *Über den griechischen Einfluß auf die arabische Nationalgrammatik* (1976) and a dissertation of a Dutch scholar C.H.M. Versteegh, *Greek Elements in Arabic Linguistic Thinking* (1977). As they used the same Greek, Arabic and Western sources, it is not surprising that their arguments and conclusions are the same. The correspondence between Greek logic

67. See WALZER, 89: According to Ibn Suwār's variant readings, the term should have been used already by Theodore Abū Qurrā, but a MS still has *sullūǧismūs*. Walzer had good reasons to believe that this was actually written by Theodore.

68. Cf. F. RUNDGREN, p. 132.

69. E. g. CARTER, WEISS (see Bibliography).

70. Both recent works under discussion: RUNDGREN and VERSTEEGH.

71. E. RENAN, *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques* (1863), pp. 377 - 379; quoted by RUNDGREN, pp. 121f.

72. H. FLEISCH, *Traité de philologie arabe* (Beyrouth 1961), I, p. 23; quoted by VERSTEEGH, pp. 12f.

and hermeneutics and Arabic linguistic thinking, pointed out by both of them, are so striking and persuasive that the thesis that Arabic grammar in its whole structure depended upon Greek linguistics is hardly debatable[73]. Such correspondence of linguistic expression in all details can hardly be explained by hazard or by simple parallelism of human thought.

The dependence of the tripartite division of the parts of speech *ism*, *fi'l* and *harf* on Greek ὄνομα, ῥῆμα and σύνδεσμος has already been pointed out by former scholars[74]. But it is most surprising that also the first two examples quoted by Sībawaih for the noun, *raǧul* and *faras*, are known from Graeco-Latin stoic tradition (ἄνθρωπος ἵππος = homo, equus)[75]. It would be a very strange coincidence if Sībawaih had come upon the choice of the same examples quite independently. His first example is a ζῷον λογικὸν = *ḥayawān nāṭiq*, the second is ζῷν ἄλογον = *ḥayawān lā nuṭqa lahu*[76]. But even the third example, *ḥā'iṭ* is not as unclear, as Versteegh (l. c.) thought. Sībawayh chose it somewhat independently, but he did not get quite far from the Greek original of Dionysios Thrax: σῶμα μὲν οἷον λίθος, πρᾶγμα δὲ οἷον παιδεία. . . κοινῶς μὲν οἷον ἄνθρωπος ἵππος, ἰδίως δὲ οἷον Σωκράτης (§ 12, p. 24 Uhlig), to which Rundgren (p. 130) pointed. Sībawayh deviated only a bit from Dionysios, as he replaced λίθος by *ḥā'iṭ* which is as little surprising as his choice of an Arabic name *Zayd* instead of Σωκράτης.

Ẓarf as a technical term for local or temporal adverb corresponds to Aristotle s ἀγγεῖον[77]; Ibn Sīnā's division of sounds into voiceless *ṣāmitāt*,

73. There will still be scholars expecting that direct study of Greek grammarians would have been necessary for such deep influence upon Arabic Grammar, cf. E. WAGNER in his short review of Versteegh: ". . .ich selbst habe einmal (in: Mundus I 1965, S. 338) vermutet, daß griech. Einfluß auch ohne direkte Übersetzung aus einer weiterlebenden hellenist. Tradition in die isl. Welt eingedrungen sein kann. Doch med. und naturwissenschaftliche Kenntnisse überspringen leichter Kulturgrenzen als an die Sprache gebundene gramm. Terminologie. Dafür müßte man griechische Studien arab. Grammatiker voraussetzen, worüber aber nichts bekannt ist. Hier bleibt mir einiges unklar." (ZDMG 129/1979, p. 173). VERSTEEGH (cf. esp. p. 39, passim) might have overrated direct influence of Greek Grammar upon Arabic. The influence seems to be limited to logic and hermeneutics, cf. RUNDGREN, p. 125. Graeco-Latin grammarians depended also on Aristotelian logic and hermeneutics, see esp. n. 83. Naturally, many resemblances, e. g. the parallelism of verbal paradigms (n. 83) will require further investigation.

74. E. g. RENAN, op. c., p. 379, quoted by RUNDGREN, p. 121f., and MERX, op. c. 141 - 3, quoted by VERSTEEGH, p. 38.

75. VERSTEEGH, p. 40; RUNDGREN, p. 129.

76. RUNDGREN, l. c.

77. VERSTEEGH, p. 8.

semivoiced *allatī lahā niṣf ṣawt* and voiced *muṣawwitāt* recalls ἄφωνα, ἡμίφωνα and φωνήεντα of Aristotelian poetics [78]. But the term used by the grammarians for vowel was not *muṣawwita* but *ḥaraka*, in which Versteegh (p. 23) sees a tracing of κίνησις of Aristotelian Physics, used for a specific form of change. *Kalām* "language" and *qawl* "speech" correspond to Greek λέξις and λόγος [79]. *Qawl tāmm* and *qawl nāqiṣ* may be compared with the Stoic λεκτὰ αὐτοτελῆ and λεκτὰ ἐλλιπῆ, but as an exact equivalent of the former is considered *mufīd* "conveying a sense". Is it a coincidence that the most popular and most frequent verbal paradigms of Arabic grammar *ḍaraba*, *kataba* and *fa'ala* correspond to the most frequently used Greek paradigms τύπτειν, γράφειν and ποιεῖν? [80] Or that *a'raba* and *i'rāb* were formed after the model of ἑλληνίζειν and ἑλληνισμός? [81] And similarly *ṣarf* and *taṣrīf* correspond to the Aristotelian πτῶσις or κλίσις of Alexandrian grammar [82]. "Subject" is *mawḍū'* = ὑποκείμενον, "predicate" *ḫabar*, or *maḥmūl* (or *musnad*) κατηγορούμενον, ἐπίθετον [83]. These are only a few out of plenty of subjects treated in the two mentioned publications. But they may suffice to prove how Arabic grammar, from its very beginning had been influenced by Greek philosophical and linguistic thinking, even if it remained essentially Arabic and not all of its expressions can be explained without difficulties through Greek influence.

It is less surprising that the specific Muslim sciences, namely theology and jurisprudence developed under the influence of Greek philosophy. Muslim theologians, similarly to the Christians, tried to make out of philosophy an *ancilla theologiae* and, therefore, used its methods and expressions. The most famous Muslim theologian and author of the Refutation of the Philosophers *(Tahāfut al-falāsifa)*, *al-Ġazālī*, could not avoid the use of philosophical methods. He followed in this respect John Philopponus and took up his arguments in his own Refutation [85]. Διαλέγεσθαι = *takallama* became the principle of Muslim theologians who, afterwards, are being called *mutakallimūn* "dialecticians". Similarly, Muslim jurists could not avoid the influence of Roman jurisdiction which contains elements gathered from Stoic philosophy [86]. The analogical principle *(qiyās)* was introduced already by Abū Ḥanīfa (of Persian origin) in the first half of the 2nd cent. H. In the second half of the 2nd cent., Šāfi'ī elaborated the principles of jurisprudence *(uṣūl al-fiqh)* based on the methods of Greek philosophy. But the most important author who completed the principle of *qiyās* in jurisprudence was again *al-Ġazālī* with his two logical treatises, *Mi'yār al-'ilm* and *Miḥakk an-naẓar* [87]. The principles of Greek philosophy kept in their bounds even Muslim theology and jurisprudence. Both profited of its method and used its technical language.

78. Ariost. poet. 1456 b 24 - 30, cited by Versteegh, p. 24 n. 17.
79. Versteegh, p. 34; Rundgren, pp. 136f.
80. Versteegh, pp. 34-37; cf. Rundgren, p. 135.
81. Versteegh, p. 42; Rundgren, p. 130.
82. Pointed out already by Merx, p. 143, quoted by both Rundgren, 133, and Versteegh, pp. 61f.
83. Rundgren, p. 131; Versteegh, pp. 64 - 67.
84. Rundgren, p. 134f.; Versteegh, p. 74.
85. Walzer, p. 6.

86. O'Leary, p. 139f.
87. Madkour, *Organon*, p. 262f.

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GRAECO-ISLAMIC ELEMENTS AT KOM EL DIKKA IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEW DISCOVERIES:

Remarks on Early Mediaeval Alexandria

John Chrysostom lamented already in the IVth cent. A. D. over the destruction of the city of Alexandria. In his homily he had asked about something undiscoverable in his time: "Tell me where the sema of Alexanderis?" Tremendous earthquakes, sometimes with tide waves, caused the subsidence of the geological plateau, which led to the poor state of preservation of all the ancient and early mediaeval town [1]. One of the most important metropoles of the ancient world, classified just behind Rome and Constantinople, vanished in an uncomparable way. But the monumental constructions of the ancient city were vanishing differently; they were also destroyed by wars, devastated by local rebels and religious fanaticism.

Some of the ancient buildings were for certain periods adopted to other purposes: pagan temples for Christian churches, which later on became mosques; nevertheless none, survived [2]. Only the commemorative column of Diocletian's time, the so called Pompey's Pillar, has been preserved in situ [3]. One of the symbols of Greek genius, the Pharos Light-

1. M. J. Clédat, *Notes sur l'Istme de Suez.* BIFAO, 21, 1923, p. 65. On mediaeval city see: E. Combe, *Alexandrie musulmane.* Bull. Soc. Geogr. Egypte XVI, 1928; *Notes de topographie et d'histoire Alexandrine*, BSAAlex. 34, 1943 - 44, 38, 1949. P. Kahle, *Zur Geschichte des Mittelalterliche Alexandria.* Der Islam, XII, 1921; *Die Katastrophe Mittelalterlichen Alexandrie*, Mélanges Maspero, III, Le Caire 1940.
2. For example the Mosque of Thousand Columns, originally the church of St. Theonas, existed up to the XIXth century. See E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, Bergamo 1922, p. 55. Even the newer structures of Mediaeval times vanished too. The most impressive construction of the Ṭūlūnid period — the city walls were dismantled in the XIXth cent. The most famous structures of ancient Alexandria as the Museum, Library, big theatre, royal palaces and royal tombs vanished without traces.
3. Pompey's Pillar was also known to Arabs as the «Pillar of Suleiman». See E. Combe, *Notes de Topographie Alexandrine.* BSAALex. 38, 1949, p. 90 ff.

house, which in the mediaeval times had been partly preserved, restored, and then transformed into a mosque, contributed very much to the Islamic architecture of Egypt, especially to the shape of the Egyptian

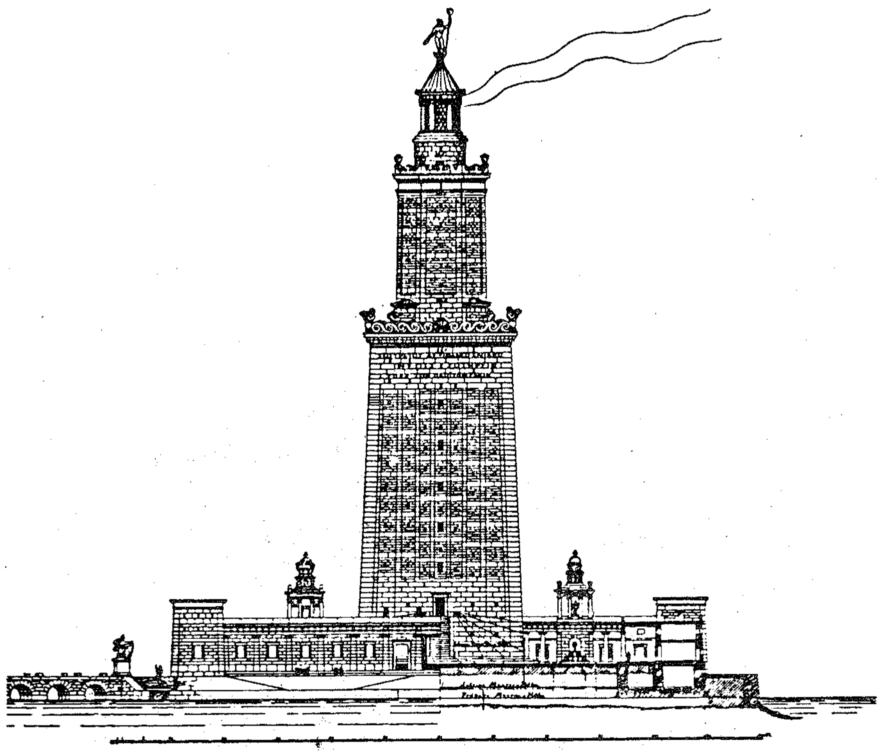


Fig. 1.

minarets[4], but it did not survive either (Fig. 1, 2). In its spot there is now a fortress built by Sultan Kait Bey in the XVth cent[5].

Our knowledge on the early mediaeval city depends mostly on the

4. U. Monneret de Villard, *Il Faro di Alessandria secondo un testo e disegni arabi inediti da codici milanezi Ambrosiani*. *BS*AAlex, 18, 1921, p. 13 ff; H. Thiersch, *Pharos, Antike Islam und Occident*, 1909, Beilage I; A. Adriani, *Repertorio D'Arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano*, Serie C, Vol. I, No 58. The Lighthouse (Pharos) built about 280 B. C. was partly destroyed several times. In the IXth century its lowest ancient part with some additions of Syrian origin formed the mosque, which was destroyed completely on 8th of August 1303 during a tremendous earthquake.

5. Namely 1477 - 1479.

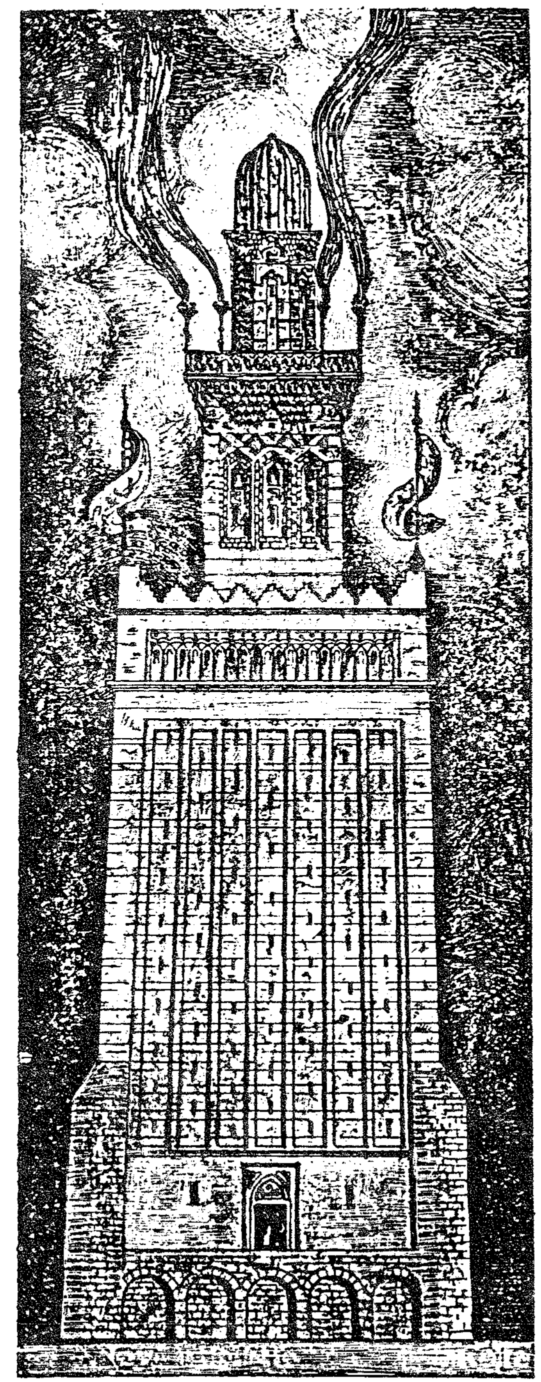


Fig. 2.

literary sources, and their interpretations, leaving us only with a handful of archaeological materials, collected around the city[6]. The relationship of the Greek and Arabic elements in the town in the first centuries after the Arab conquest is very little elaborated from the archaeological point of view, and the gap cannot be filled with sole notes about the Greek philosophers and physicians of Alexandria, and their services to Ummayads and ʿAbbāsids[7]. These sources do not inform us much about the transformations in the city and changes in Alexandrian arts and crafts. So the new archaeological observations on the Kom el Dikka excavations in Alexandria should have considerable value. They inform us about urban, habitual, and sepulchral architecture, and its aesthetic contents of the late antique and early mediaeval periods, as well as about the evolution in such old industries in the city as pottery, glass, ivory and bone carvings[9].

The excavated area of Kom el Dikka, some 3,5 hectares, located in the centre of the modern as well as ancient town is relatively big for an archaeological site in a contemporary city, but still it covers a rather small part of the surface even of the smallest mediaeval town (Fig. 3). In early mediaeval period the site was located close to the southern part of the city walls, most probably near one of its gates. The area includes part of the ancient habitual quarter along the Hellenistic and Roman street R4, numbered after the Mahmoud El Falaki plan of 1866[10], which was used until the Xth cent. A. D., and further to the west a late Roman recreation quarter, composed of a bath, water house, "theatre like building",

6. There are rather casual finds collected in the Graeco-Roman Museum of the early Mediaeval Alexandria. More objects, mostly from Wace's excavations at Kom el Dikka are kept in the Museum in the Alexandrian University. See A. Lane, *Archaeological Excavations at Kom el Dikka*. Bull. of the Faculty of Arts, V, 1949, p. 143 - 147.

7. E. Combe, op. cit. BSAAlex 34, p. 109 and 38, p. 90 ff.

8. The Polish Permanent Mission in Alexandria started the excavations et Kom el Dikka in 1960.

9. The excavated material is published in the series «Alexandrie» printed in Warsaw by the Polish Academy of Science. The first two volumes have already appeared. The first one by M. Rodziewicz, *La céramique romaine tardive d'Alexandrie*, Varsovie 1976, and the second one by Z. Borkowski *Les inscriptions des Factions à Alexandrie*, Varsovie 1981. The third volume by M. Rodziewicz *Les habitations romaines tardives d'Alexandrie* is now printed. The preliminary reports are published mostly in Études et Travaux, Travaux du Centre D'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences.

10. Mahmoud el Falaki, *Mémoire sur l'antique Alexandrie*, Copenhagen 1872.

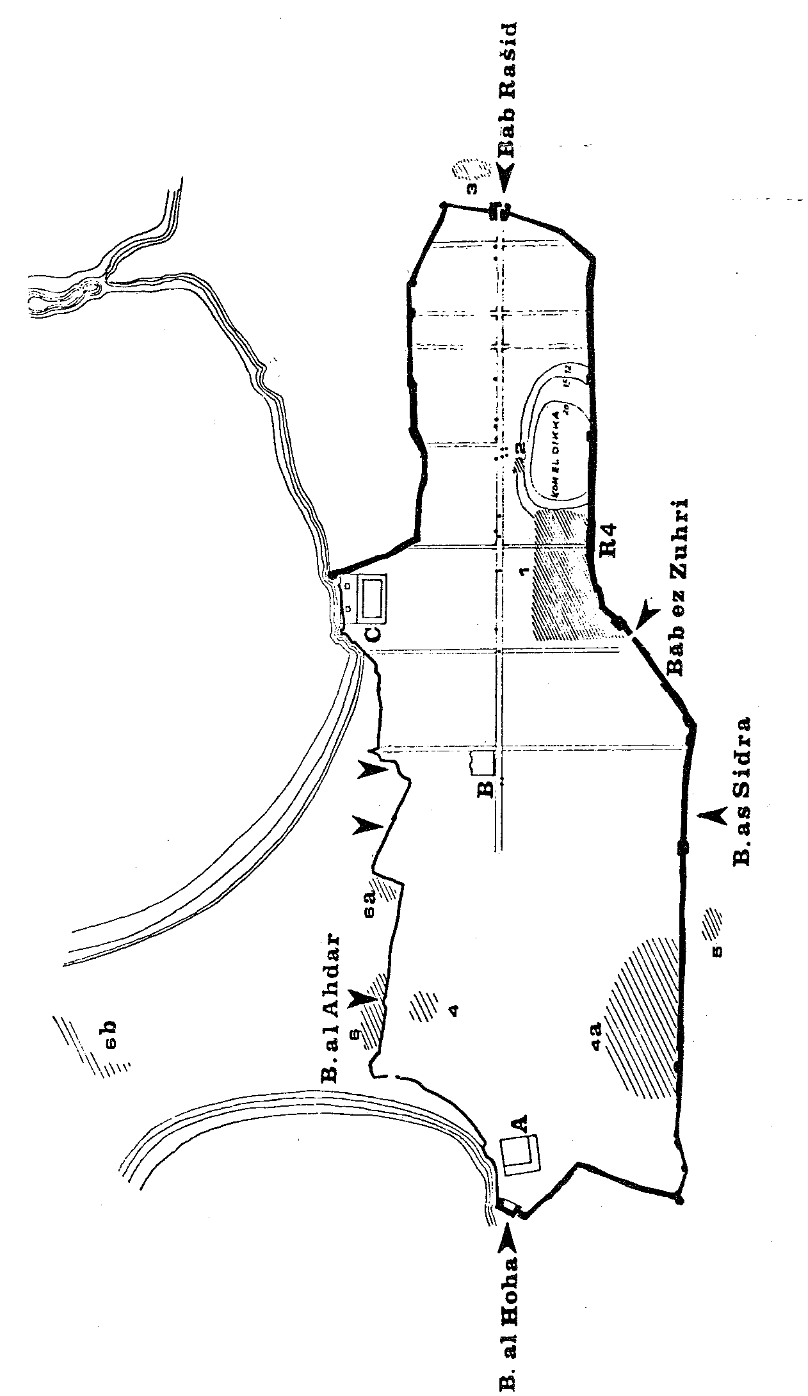


Fig. 3.

and other constructions being excavated [11]. The mediaeval strata contained on the 10m. above the sea level remains of houses and shops, which covered dismantled late Roman and Byzantine dwellings [12]. The houses were built in the VIIIth century in the local traditional way, following the type of the town-house developed in the Roman period, but with large courtyards behind them, surrounded by fences made of stones. So were the small shops built along the old street (Fig. 4). The constructions were located still along the line of the ancient street R4, which proved that the Greek urban system was preserved in that time. We know directly from the words of one of the Governors of the city of the XVth cent. that the streets were still crossing on straight angles [13]. So it is sure that the town-planning system was the most durable element of the city, which means that it lasted up to the Turkish invasion in 1517 [14]. It is sure that Alexandria was different from Fustat, the new mediaeval capital of Egypt, where the streets were narrow, and not as regular in width and directions as the Alexandrian ones [15]. It is very difficult to discern in the Kom el Dikka site any traces of the religion of the inhabitants in the VIIth and VIIIth centuries. No Christian symbols were found on the level of the houses situated above the Late Roman and Byzantine ones. The neighbouring Late Roman buildings were out of use, abandoned, and burials were located between the ruined constructions. The formation of the Muslim necropolis began in Kom el Dikka in the VIIIth cent. and lasted until the XIIIth century, when all the area sank under the huge amount of rubble, which formed what is now called Kom el Dikka [16].

The location of the cemetery inside the city walls could be seen as a unique phenomenon, but it is known that close to the Baab el Ahdar Gate there existed another one, the main early mediaeval cemetery of the city, called Waal, where the most holy, and respectable men were

11. M. Rodziewicz, *Les habitations romaines tardives d'Alexandrie*, Alexandrie III, with further references.

12. Rodziewicz, *Les habitations*, op. cit. Chapt. IV.

13. Halil ed-Dahiri was the Governor of Alexandria in 1435: «It is the town built on the columns, and somebody compared it with the chess-board». See *Zoubdat Kachf al Mamalik*, Ed. Ravaisse, Paris 1894, p. 40.

14. The main ancient street in Alexandria — Via Canopica survived longer, and even modern Horreya street has followed its direction on a long distance.

15. On recent researches see G. T. Scanlon, *Fustat Expedition*, J.A.R.C. E., IV (1965) - XI (1974).

16. E. Prominska, *Investigations on the Population of Muslim Alexandria*, Warsaw 1972.



Fig. 4.

buried in monumental, colonnaded structures[17]. The location of this cemetery is identified by the still existing hill, Kom el Nadura (Fig. 3), near the western harbour[18]. Some early Islamic burials were spotted also in the eastern Kom el Dikka area (Souq ground), just behind the modern building of the Alexandrian Water Company in Horreya street[19]. Only one mediaeval cemetery until now has been seen outside the city walls (fig. 3, 3), north-east from the previous Rasid Gate (Rosette Gate)[20]. The above-mentioned cemeteries changed very much the character of the city in its southeastern, and western sections. The city walls constructed at the time of Mutawakkil were shorter than those at ancient times, but in the west and east they included large parts of the old structures with the major monumental gates attributed to the Roman period. They had existed for a long time, and they are well known from Nuwairi's description, translated by P. Kahle[21]. The city itself until the IXth cent. is only a little visible, except for the burial grounds. However, it did exist and was spiritually vivid. Unfortunately, few archaeological remains have survived, so even the smallest findings from the excavation area can be very helpful.

As far as the more important architectural structures are concerned we found at Kom el Dikka an important group of beautiful fragments of decorative elements made of plaster, moulded and painted (Fig. 5). They were found in the Xth cent. layer, but they had existed certainly long time before, in one of the unknown buildings of an earlier date. This set of stucco-fragments belongs to the construction made of bricks, so-called "thousand twisting", in which every brick located on the surface of the wall, formed partly the decorative elements covered with plaster. The floral and geometrical designs on the plaster offer us a certain répertoire of decorative elements of early Islamic art. Technically and aesthetically this type of architectural decoration had no background in Alexandria, but in the East, namely Baghdad or Samarra[22]. The

17. E. Combe, *Notes de topographie et d'histoire Alexandrie*, BSAA op. cit.

18. Combe, op. cit., but it is also possible that the cemetery was located in the south - western region of the town, as I have marked on the map (see fig. 3 No 4a).

19. In 1978 - 79 I observed in the casual digs a group of individual burials, typologically parallel to the tombs of the so-called «Lower Necropolis» at Kom el Dikka. See E. Prominska, *Investigations* op. cit. p. 46ff.

20. This cemetery was spotted in a long trench (1 m. width), located on the western side of Abdel Rahman Rushdi street, just behind the Shallalat Gardens. The dig was for new hydraulic installations. See fig. 3, No 3.

21. Kahle, *Die Katastrophe des Mittelalterlichen Alexandria*, op. cit. p. 143.

22. K. A. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 1958 p. 186.

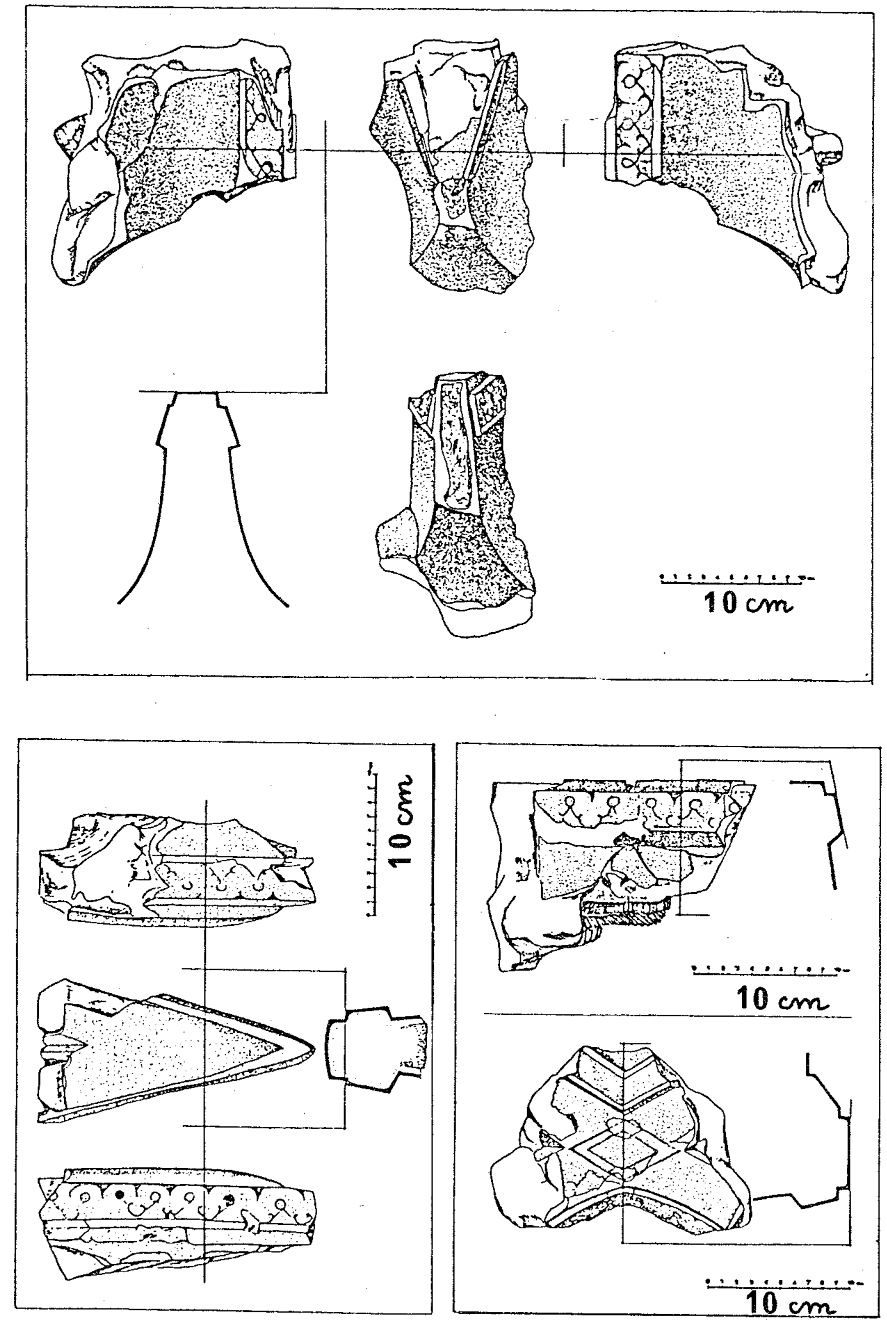


Fig. 5.

dimensions of the elements suggest that they had decorated a large and rich building. Round coloured glass plates, found together, had enriched the view of the edifice, giving it aesthetical character, known to us from such a centre as Samarra[23]. We have concluded that at the end of the tenth century these fragments fell down from an old building which could have been renovated. Theoretically it should not be earlier than the early Ṭūlūnid times. Anyway these fragments prove the import of a new brick technique, and a new kind of decoration which originated in Iraq and Syria[24]. It is also possible that the pointed arch, which originated in Iraq, was introduced to Alexandria very early, as can be seen in the cistern El Nabih and in another one identified under the mosque of Nabi Daniel, west of Fort Kom el Dikka[25]. Unfortunately we do not have enough material to trace the development of the traditional local architectural decoration, but these findings and the shape of the minaret of Pharos demonstrate the introduction of a new Islamic style, most probably besides the local elements like Corinthian capitals.

The Greek elements as they survived in the Byzantine and Coptic arts and crafts were in a continuous evolutionary change. In the Alexandrian market of the early Islamic period local goods were competing with imported objects both from East and from West. It has been identified that the most popular goods as pottery, specially called "table ware", till the middle of the VIIth century were brought to Alexandria from factories of Egypt, because the local pottery suply seems to have been poor at that time, while the imported wares from North Africa, Asia Minor and Cyprus had a large share in the town market[26], The popular goods which in particular continued to be imported in great quantities were these from Cyprus. This is shown in the pottery. The latest forms of pots found in Cyprus also appear in the excavations of Kom el Dikka. Thus, we conclude that with the departure of the Byzantine garrison from the town, imports of goods did not cease till the end of the VIIth cent[27]. In the VIIIth century, the darkest period of Alexandria from the archaeological point of view, we observe that the import of pottery disappeared, and the market was overflooded by the local Egyptian table

23. Creswell, op. cit.

24. E. Herzfeld, *Erster vorleifiger Bericht*... Berlin 1912, p. 14 ff.

25. K. Michalowski, L. Dabrowski, *Rapport sur la prospection du terrain dans la region de la Mosque de Nabi Daniel.* Bull. de la Faculté de Droit, Univ. d'Alexandrie, XII, 1958 p. 33.

26. M. Rodziewicz, *La céramique romaine tardive d'Alexandrie*, op. cit.

27. Rodziewicz op. cit. See J. W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, London 1972.

ware of various groups[28]. In general they fall into the group of red wares, continuing the tradition of pottery of the Late Roman period[29]. A larger group of painted pots marked the continuity of the Egyptian taste. A group of white slipped, stamped, and painted table wares became more popular. Both plain, painted and stamped pots of local Egyptian manufacture started to be glazed. This innovation is commonly understood as the typical Islamic element which was imported from the Eastern workshops[30]. If so they should be dated after 836, sometime from the middle of the IXth cent. on, but the archaeological evidence of these finds at Kom el Dikka in Alexandria, and Fustat in Cairo suggests an earlier date[31]. The traditional forms and decorations of the vessels with red and white slip of Roman type, and its lead glazed versions at Kom el Dikka were present in the layers dated from the VIIIth - IXth centuries. Red wares disappeared in Alexandria in the late IXth and early Xth centuries, ending a very long evolution of the pottery which had originated in the late Hellenistic period[32].

The famous workshops of ancient Alexandria for bone and ivory carvings continued their production after the Arab conquest[33]. Small bone and ivory finds from Kom el Dikka were used mostly as appliqués on furniture and wooden caskets, and they mark a certain continuity of this industry in Alexandria for a long time. Rare finds of similar objects from the VIIIth - IXth centuries in Fustat are suggesting that this new center of Egypt was not competing with old Alexandrian workshops. Well dated plaquettes from the excavations show that it was the most conservative group of objects, where Graeco- Roman elements prevailed for a long time[34]. An unfinished plaquette of bone with representation

28. Rodziewicz op. cit.

29. Rodziewicz op. cit.

30. F. Sarre, E. Herzfeld, *Die Keramik von Samarra*, Berlin 1925, p. 32 ff.

31. M. Rodziewicz, *Un quartier d'habitation Graeco-Romain à Kom el Dikka*, Études et Travaux, IX, Varsovie 1976 p. 20; M. Rodziewicz, *La céramique émaillée copte de Kom el Dikka*, Études et Travaux, X, Varsovie 1978, p. 338 ff. See G. T. Scanlon, *Excavations at Fustat*, 1964, Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt, IV, pp. 7 - 30; V, pp. 83 - 112; VI, pp. 65 - 86; X, pp. 11 - 25; XI, pp. 81 - 91. Also G. T. Scanlon, *Early Islamic Lead Glazed Pottery from Fustat* (in preparation).

32. There are some differences about the termination of the Red Ware. Hayes locates it in Egypt up to the end of the VIIth century, or even slightly later. See J. W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, London 1972, pp. 387 ff.

33. E. Rodziewicz, *Reliefs figurés en os des fouilles à Kom el Dikka.* Études et Travaux, vol. X, pp. 318 - 330.

34. E. Rodziewicz, *Greek Ivories of the Hellenistic period.* Études et Travaux, V,

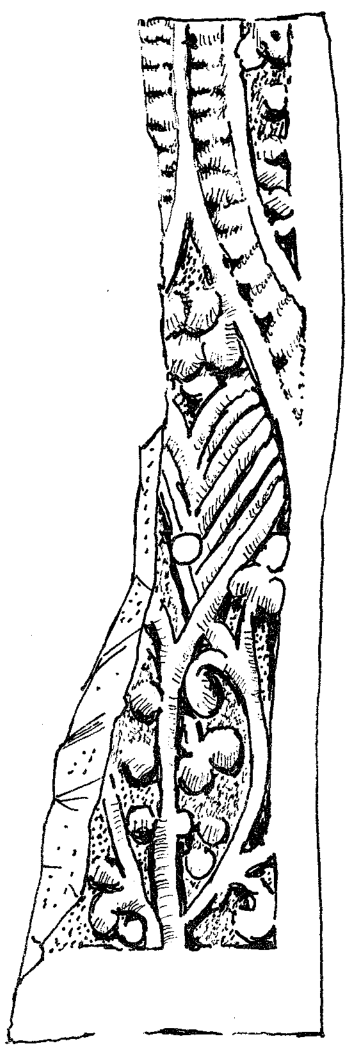


Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.

of a man carrying an animal (rabbit?) is of great importance[35]. This piece was found above the fallen blocks of the houses in the VIIIth century layer. The finds from the bath and habitual quarter in Kom el Dikka from the IXth - Xth century levels differ greatly from earlier pieces. They reflect the floral decorations from the Eastern centers as Jerusalem (Aqsa mosque decorations for example) (Fig. 6).

We do not have direct information about the activities of the glass factories around the Kom el Dikka, but we may expect that some of them survived after the Arab conquest for a long time[36]. In the inhabited quarter of Kom el Dikka, glass objects, mostly beads, were produced in the sixth and early seventh centuries. This production ended most probably at the time of the Persian occupation of the city, and later was not revived again[37]. The samples of glass collected in the layers covering the Byzantine houses along the street R4, and on the level of the early Arabic habitation, show some continuity of the older shapes, colours and decorations of the vessels. One group of glass appeared in the 8th and 9th centuries, mostly cups with thick walls, decorated with pressed geometrical motives similar to those on Egyptian pottery[38]. The typical painted Arabic forms of glass were spotted in the 10th century layers.

The latest Greek inscriptions in the excavated area at Kom el Dikka date from the time of Phocas and the beginning of the rule of Heraclius[39]. Theu were unearthed in the theatre-like building, where also the Arabic inscriptions were located in the beginning of the VIIIth century[40]. Other Arabic inscriptions dating from 805 until the XIIIth century belong to the large group of funerary inscriptions from the big cemetery excavated on Bardissi street and Kom el Dikka[41].

p. 72 ff.; L. Marangou, *Bone Carvings from Egypt*, vol. I, Graeco-Roman Period. Tübingen 1976 p. 25 ff.

35. E. Rodziewicz, *Reliefs figurés*, op. cit. fig. 11, p. 331.

36. C. J. Lamm, *Das Glass von Samarra*, Berlin 1928; C. J. Lamm, *Oriental Glass*. Stockholm 1941; G. T. Scanlon, *Fustat and the Islamic Art of Egypt*, Archaeology 21, 1968, p. 188 ff.

37. M. Rodziewicz, *Un quartier d'habitation gréco-romain à Kom el Dikka*, Études et Travaux IX, 1976, p. 93, fig. 29; M. Rodziewicz, *Les habitations romaines tardives d'Alexandrie*, Varsovie 1982.

38. M. Rodziewicz op. cit.

39. Z. Borkowski, *Les inscriptions des Factions à Alexandrie*, Varsovie 1981.

40. W. Kubiak, *Inscriptions Arabes de Kom el Dick*, BSAAlex. 43, pl. I, A, B, p. 134.

41. E. Combe, *Inscriptions arabes du Musée d'Alexandrie*, BSAAlex. 30 - 31, 1936-1937, p. 56; W. Kubiak, *Stèles funéraires arabes de Kom el Dick*, BSAAlex 42, p. 17 ff.

After 'Amr bn. al Āṣ's conquest, Alexandria ceased to be among the top cities and fell behind the big Islamic centers of Damascus and Baghdad. In 870 the 'Abbāsid Khalif, al Mutawakkil, restored the ancient port of Alexandria, and renamed the city of Rosetta al Rashid, which was located about 63 km. east of Alexandria. Alexandria was reduced to a secondary Mediterranean port of Egypt.

The growing legend of the town most probably was formed by Alexandrians themselves, active in the courts of the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids[42] But it was a legend of the past. The town itself, much more smaller than in the ancient times, started to adopt new models in some branches of arts and architecture ("thousand twisting" technique); even its figurative arts reflected the artistic tendencies, developed in the courts of Baghdad and Samarra, as we can see in a wooden panel found at Kom el Dikka[43] (Fig. 7).

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42. E. Combe op. cit. BSAAlex. 34, p. 109 ff.

43. E. Pauty, *Bois sculptés d'églises coptes* (époque fatymide), Le Caire 1930; G. Marçais, *Les figures d'hommes et de bêtes dans les bois sculptés d'époque fatimide conservés au Musée arabe du Caire. Étude d'iconographie musulmane*, Mélanges Maspero, III, Le Caire 1940, p. 241 ff.

Ilustrations

Fig. 1. Hellenistic shape of the Pharos Lighthouse reconstructed by Thiersch.

Fig. 2. Pharos Lighthouse just before its destruction in 1303. Reconstruction by Monneret de Villard.

Fig. 3. Plan of Mediaeval Alexandria (M. Rodziewicz).
- A. Church of St. Theonas (later mosque of Thousand Columns)
- B. Church of St. Athanasius (later Attarin mosque)
- C. Cesareum (later Cathedral Church)
- D. Serapeum (later monastery with the church of St. John the Baptist).
- 1. Muslim necropolis VIII - XIII cent. over the earlier Roman recreation and habitation quarters, recently under excavations.
- 2. Early Muslim burials of VIII - IX cent. in casual dig in 1978 - 79, behind the Water Company Authorities.
- 3. Location of the early Fatimid necropolis outside the city Walls, casual dig in 1976.
- 4. Presumably location of Wad Cemetery, under Kom el Nadura and its alternative location 4a.
- 5. Burial grounds of XVII - XVIII cent.
- 6. a, b burial grounds of "Turkish" town.

Fig. 4. Kom el Dikka excavations. Street R4 with traces of the foundations of the house, left, and shops, right, of the VIII cent. Behind left, late Roman-Byzantine houses. Seen from the North. (Phot. Z. Dolinski).

Fig. 5. Fragments of painted stucco architectural decoration. IX cent. Found above the habitation quarter at Kom el Dikka. (Drawn by Z. Medeksza).

Fig. 6. Bone carving. IX century, Kom el Dikka. Inv. No. W7 2909. (Drawn by M. Rodziewicz).

Fig. 7. Wooden panel. Kom el Dikka. Found above the necropolis of the XIIth century in the area of the "theatre-like building". Inv. No. SM 842. (Drawn by M. Rodziewicz).

TWO PARALLEL NAVAL GUIDES OF THE TENTH CENTUR: QUDAMA'S DOCUMENT AND LEO VI'S NAUMACHICA: A STUDY ON BYZANTINE AND MOSLEM NAVAL PREPAREDNESS



Fig. 1. A Naval battle. MS of the Cynegetica of Oppian. Marcian Library, Venice. (O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford 1911, Fig. 288).

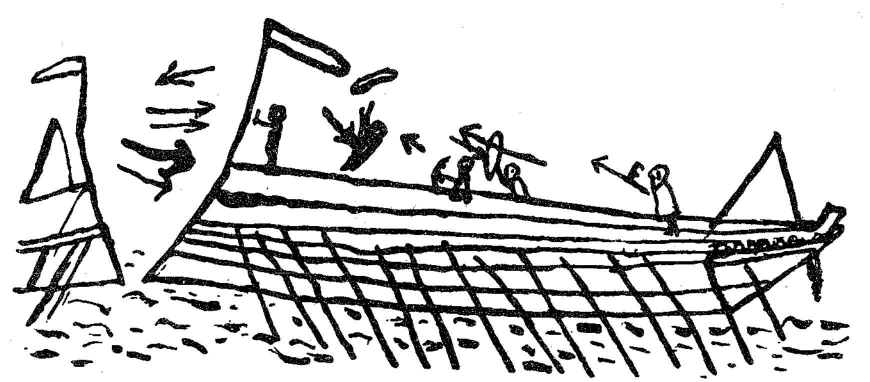


Fig. 2. Akidographena depicting a naval battle. Getakos' collection. (K. Alexandres, *Ἡ θαλασσία δύναμις εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας*, Fig. 6).

TWO PARALLEL NAVAL GUIDES OF THE TENTH CENTURY: QUDĀMA'S DOCUMENT AND LEO VI'S NAUMACHICA: A STUDY ON BYZANTINE AND MOSLEM NAVAL PREPAREDNESS

The purpose of this paper is to compare two parallel naval guides of the tenth century, the Greek text of Leo VI's *Naumachica* and a naval document inserted in Qudāma bn. Ja'far's *Kitāb al-Kharāj*. Having as a focus these two sources, an attempt will be made to discuss some important problems of Byzantine and Moslem naval preparedness in the tenth century. Additional information will be drawn from other relevant Greek and Arabic literary sources, from the iconographical evidence and the few remains of ships.

Byzantines and Moslems, caught in the spider's web of their own culture, showed little interest in any intellectual exchange[1]. The Byzantines just ignored the intellectual achievements of their contemporary Arabs. It was only on the Arab-Byzantine borders of Asia Minor that some popular Arab narratives influenced the Byzantine Akritic poetry[2]. On the other hand, the Arabs studied and avidly translated a number of important ancient Greek authors, but there their interest stopped. The most they could recognize about the Byzantines was their skill in understanding the classical language, philosophy and sciences. Thus, the Caliph Ma'mūn asked the Byzantines to send him the learned geometer Leo[3], and the Emir of Spain, 'Abd al-Rahman al-Naṣir, received a copy of Dioscourides from Constantine Porphyrogennitos[4]. When the Moslems discovered books among their booty taken from the Byzantines, their first concern was to avoid anything which could pollute their ideas. Instructions were given to destroy such books.

Byzantine and Moslem historians never felt the need to use each other's written sources. No language barrier existed since there were bilingual citizens on both sides who were used as spies. Similarly, the search by some Arab authors for oral information about Byzantium was not restricted by language. Thus, as Mas'ūdī indicates[5], he was present at an exchange of Arab-Byzantine captives in Lamos (946) and had personal contact with one of the Byzantine delegates whom he describes as "wise and learned in history". At least, one would expect that military manuals, because of their intelligence interest, would be sought and used by both sides, but that never occured. In vain Nicephoros Ouranos cautiously writes in his preface. "Εἰσὶ γάρ τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀσύμφορα πρὸς τὸ γράφεσθαι ἵνα μὴ γίνωνται φανερὰ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἵνα μὴ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνοι ποιῶσιν αὐτὰ καθ' ἡμῶν"[6]. No Moslem would bother trying to read his manual.

It is therefore very interesting that we possess two manuals of naval warfare, written about the same time (10th century), which reveal certain striking similarities, due to their very nature, rather than any conscious interrelation. The tenth century marks the apex of the struggle between Byzantium and Islam for sea-supremacy and it is not surprising that those two works were written at that time[7]. The Byzantine manual is the well known and carefully edited text of Leo VI's *Naumachi-*

1. The *Story of Kalīla wa-Dimna* was translated under the title Στεφανίτης in the ninth or eleventh century, but this one was an Indian story *(Panchatantra)*, translated into Greek from Arabic sources by a certain Symeon, son of Seth. See J. Hertel, *Das Pancatantra seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung*, Leipzig-Berlin 1914, and J. Papademetriou, *The Sources and Character of Del Governo de Regni*, Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 92 (1961), p. 422-439.

The limited information on the Byzantine Empire which appears in Mas'ūdī does not come from any Byzantine sources, but from earlier Melkite Christian Arab sources and the evidence of eyewitnesses; see D. Dunlop, *Arab Civilization*, Beirut 1971, p. 108.

2. V. Christides, *Arabic Influence on the Akritic Cycle*, Byzantion 49 (1979), p. 94 - 109.

3. Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bonn, 189; see also P. Lemerle, *Léon, decouvert par le calife Ma'mūn, in Le premier humanisme byzantin*, Paris 1971, p. 150 - 154.

4. See G. Levi della Vida in *Miscellanea G. Galbiati*, III, (1951), p. 185 - 203; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd rev. ed., Leiden 1968, p. 80 - 81.

5. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Beirut (1968), p. 165.

The use of the first person *nahnu* leaves to doubt that Mas'ūdī himself was present when the Byzantine delegation arrived in Lamos.

6. A. Dain, ed., *Naumachica*, Paris 1943, p. 85, paragraph 64.

7. E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abenland*, Berlin 1966, p. 206; H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, Paris 1966, p. 38; see also Christides, *The Raids of the Moslems of Crete in the Aegean Sea: Piracy and Conquest*, Byzantion 51 (1981), p. 76 - 111.

ca[8]. The Arabic source, only rarely used by modern scholars, is not a full manual of naval warfare but rather a short guide to the mariners, inserted in Qudāma bn. Ja'far's book *Kitāb al-Kharāj*. A high official in the custom office of Baghdad, Qudāma had thorough knowledge of the affairs of the Caliphate. His short guide reflects in miniature what must have been contained in the actual Arabic manuals of naval warfare, which undoubtedly existed; and although none have been preserved, some may be extant in unpublished manustripts.

Qudāma's guide was first noticed by M. de Slane[9] and was neither incorporated in the partial edition of the *Kitāb al-Kharāj* by M. J. de Goeje nor in the partial translation of this book by A. B. Shemesh[10]. The *Kitāb al-Kharāj* originally contained nine parts of which only four have been preserved in a unique manuscript of the Koprülü Library in Istanbul (MS no. 1076). There is also a defective copy of this manuscript in the National Library of Paris (MS Arabic no. 5907). The part containing the naval guide was published and translated by M. Hamidullah[11] and paraphrased by A. M. Fahmy[12]. A slightly different version of it appears in H. Khadivajum's edition of the *Kitāb al-Kharāj*[13].

Both these Greek and Arabic sources appear as books of admonition on the part of the heads of the respective empires — the Byzantine Emperor and the Caliph of Baghdad. The *Naumachica* is addressed to the chief admiral, "δρουγγάριος τῶν πλοΐμων", and Qudāma's text to the chief of the naval frontier and naval forces, "ولاة الثغر بحرية ومراكب". We know that the *Naumachica* was actually written by Emperor Leo VI, who

8. Dain, *Naumachica*, p. 19ff; for similar manuals in general see Dain, *Les stratégistes byzantins*, Travaux et Mémoires 2 (1967), p. 317 - 392. For the Byzantine sources concerning the navy see H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Sources byzantines pour servir à l'histoire maritime, in Les sources des l'histoire maritime en Europe, du Moyen Age au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1962, (Actes du IVe colloque international d'histoire maritime, Paris 1959).

9. M. de Slane, *Notice sur Codama et ses écrits*, Journal Asiatique 20, 5th ser. (1862), p. 155 - 181.

10. M. J. de Goeje, ed., *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Bibl. Geogr. Arab. 6, Leiden 1889; A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam Qudāma b. Ja'far's Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Leiden-London 1965.

11. M. Hamidullah, *Muslim Conduct of State*, 4th ed., Lahore 1961, Arabic text, p. 308 - 313; text translation p. 316 - 319.

12. A. M. Fahmy, *Muslim Sea Power in the Eastern Mediterranean*, London 1950, p. 140 - 142.

13. H. Khadivajum, ed., *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Teheran 1870, p. 22 - 26. This edition is mentioned neither by Fahmy nor by Hamidullah and in general has passed unnoticed.

was a prolific writer. The Arabic guide is a document written under the instructions of the Caliph and not by himself; it was written by an unknown secretary, simply mentioned by Qudāma at the end as "son of so and so".

Leo's text is cast in an elegant style. Above all, Leo VI was concerned with literary merits. In the beginning of his manual, Leo VI expresses his disappointment that no previous literary works of this type existed. Thus, instead of blindly pillaging previous authors according to the practice of his time, he had to resort to personal interviews with experienced naval officers[14]. Thanks to this first-hand information, he offers precise and concrete instructions in simple language. However, he eagerly seizes any opportunity to fall into elaborate platitudes, especially when an occasion for moral advice arises.

The Arabic text, save for a few sentences at the beginning and at the end, is a down-to-earth document in a succint style with laconic but juicy instructions.

Both sources express a highly moralistic and pietistic spirit, reflecting the ideas of the time and the special atmosphere which prevailed in both navies. In addition to their enemy, sailors and marines at that time constantly faced the dangers of sailing on ships far less well equipped than present carriers. For this reason they needed well constructed ships and high morale, boosted by dedicated religious belief.

FIRST DUTY OF THE ADMIRAL: SELECTION OF THE MATERIAL FOR SHIPBUILDING, SUPERVISION OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SHIPS

In both treatises it is mentioned that the duty of admiral starts before the construction of ships. He should pay special attention to the choice of timber, ropes, iron etc.

Ναυμαχικά (A. Dain, p. 19-20, paragraphs 3, 5):

> Κατασκευασθῆναι δὲ δεῖ καὶ δρόμωνας καταρκοῦντας πρὸς ναυμαχίαν. . . Ἐχέτωσαν δὲ καὶ πάντα πρὸς ἐξαρτισμὸν δρόμωνος ἀπαραλειπτὰ καὶ διπλᾶ, οἷον αὐχένας, κώπας, . . . σχοινία. . . καὶ τὰ ἄρμενα. . . Ἐχέτω δὲ καὶ ἐκ περισσοῦ ξύλα τινὰ ἐγκοίλια καὶ σανίδας καὶ στυππία καὶ πίσσαν καὶ ὑγρόπισσον·. . .

Translation: You must construct *dromons* suitable for sea-battle. . .
They [the ships] should have whatever is necessary for the equipment of a *dromon*, without any shortages and even with a double

14. Dain, *Naumachica*, p. 19 paragr. 1.

number of what is needed, as for example steering oars, oars, ropes, sails. . . and let them have also some extra round wood and wood planks, and oakum and tar and liquid tar. . .

Qudāma's text in *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (M. Hamidullah, p. 312; H. Khadivajum, p. 22):

وأمره أن ينظر في صناعة المراكب نظراً إستكشف به الآلة
من الخشب والحديد والمشاقة والزفت وغيره حتى يحكمها ويجيد
بناء المراكب وتأليفها قطعها «قلفطتها» وتركيبها، ويستجيد المقاذيف
ويتخيرها ويتنقى الصواري والقلوع وينتخبها

Translation:

And he ordered him [the admiral] to supervise the construction of ships, by checking their implements of wood, iron, scraps of cloth (oakum)[15a], tar[15b] and other, [to make sure] they function properly. He [the admiral] should check the construction of ships their components, assemblage of parts[15c], and their proper removal and joining. He must try to find the best oars and select them carefully; he should also make the best selection of masts and sails.

It is noteworthy that Ibn Mājid (15th century), writing about cargo ships, also considers the supervision of the construction of a ship as its captain's first duty[16]. Thus the Arabic texts leave no doubt about the painstaking efforts by the Moslems to provide the best quality timber and other materials for the construction of their ships.

The problem of adequate wood supplies for the Moslem fleets requires special discussion, because it is of paramount importance for Moslem naval preparedness and has been sometimes thought as contributing to the Moslems' final defeat by the Byzantines at sea by the end of the tenth century.

15a. Hamidullah leaves untranslated the word *mushāqah*, which corresponds to the Greek word στυππεῖον = hemp, oakum.

15b. Though Hamidullah writes «*al-zift*», he translates it «naphtha». *Zift* actually means a more refined product of naphtha, i.e., tar.

15c. Khadivajum's reading is «*qalafaṭuha*» (the way the ships have been constructed); but Hamidullah's reading «*qaṭafatuhā*» (their assemblage) makes more sense.

16. Ibn Mājid, *Kitāb al-Fawā'id fī Uṣūl 'Ilm al Baḥr wa'l Qawā'id in* G. R. Tibbetts's *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean before the Coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971, p. 49, 192.

E. Eickhoff attributes the Moslems' final defeat in the sea mainly to the use of wood of inferior quality for their ships and to their technological inadequacy[17]. Eickhoff's view is shared by M. Lombard, who elaborated it at length[18]. Lombard describes in detail the geographical dispersion of forestry in the Mediterranean world from the pre-Islamic times until the crusades and pays special attention to the impoverishment of this valuable source. He suggests that there was a severe depletion of the forests of the Mediterranean Moslem countries between the seventh and eleventh centuries, as a result of intense and careless exploitation of woods in their effort to construct huge fleets in order to gain supremacy over the Byzantines[19].

While there is undoubtedly a certain validity in Lombard's theory, it is in general exaggerated and overstretched. Moreover, to isolate the factor of wood scarcity and conclude that it solely or mainly led to the final defeat of the Moslems at sea is a gross mistake.

The Moslem world did not experience timber shortages to any alarming extent. Egypt was the country with the more active ship-building industry and fewer resources; but even Egypt possessed in great quantity certain types of wood used for the ships of the river Nile and for some parts of sea-going ships. Greek and Arabic papyri as well as the Arabic historical sources amply illustrate the collection and use of Egyptian timber, mainly palm and fig wood, under the strict control of the state[20]. A small amount of excellent timber called "*balh*" was also collected from Bahnasā in Upper Egypt, where the name "*balh*" and "*kharāj*" (taxes) became synonymous since the inhabitants paid their taxes in this product[21].

During the Byzantine times there were two shipyards in Egypt, one in Alexandria and the second in Clysma[22]. While that of Alexandria was famous, the second shipyard was also of great importance, because it constructed ships for the busy traffic in the Red Sea. Little is known about the activities of the Byzantine fleet in the Red Sea, which carried

17. Eichoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik*, p. 155 - 56.

18. M. Lombard, *Arsenaux et bois de marine dans la Méditerranée musulmane VIIe - XIe siècles*, in *Espaces et résaux du haut moyen âge* Paris-the Hague 1972, p. 107 - 151.

19. Ibid., 110.

20. S. Maher, *Al-Baḥrīyah fī Miṣr al-Islāmiyah*, Cairo 1967, p. 167-170.

21. Ibid., 169 notes 2 - 5.

22. A. M Fahmy, *Muslim Sea Power in the Eastern Mediterranean*, London 1950, p. 23ff; Lombard, *Arsenaux et bois de marine dans la Mediterranée musulmane*, p. 131.

goods from Aylah to the ports of Sudan, Ethiopia and Yemen. The *Codex Theodosianus* (XII, 12, 2) has a brief reference to sailing in those ports. In the *Martyrium of Arethas* there are references to the Byzantine fleet in the Red Sea which transported the Ethiopians of 'Ella 'Aṣbeha to Yemen, to fight against the Jewish King Dhū-Nuwās, after the massacre of the Christian population in Negran (ca. 520)[23].

The *Acts of Gregentios* further describe the sailing from Egypt to Ethiopia and Yemen and the movements of 'Ella 'Aṣbeha's Ethiopians from their country to Yemen (land of the Ḥimyarites)[24].

The Moslems intensified the trade in the Red Sea and increased production at the shipyard of Clysma while that of Alexandria grew immensely. In addition more shipyards were established by the Moslems in Egypt, those of Rosetta, Damietta and Tinnis[25].

In spite of the frantic and constant efforts to construct ships in Egypt, the flow of timber to its shipyards never seemed to be inadequate. Timber in great quantities was channeled from Syria in the first years after the Moslem conquest of Egypt[26]. Afterwards, with the increasing demand for timber from the shipyard of Tarsos, where many ships were constructed for the formidable Syrian fleets, Egypt also received supplies of wood from Asia Minor, Cyprus, Crete and Venice[27].

Based solely on the evidence of Ibn Hawqal, Lombard places special emphasis on the timber supplies from Moslem Crete (ca. 824 - 961) to Egypt and the other Moslem countries[28]. There is no doubt that Moslem Crete had close ties with the other Moslem states and in particular with

23. J. Fr. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, V, Paris 1833, p. 44 - 45: «εἰσῆλθον πλοῖα τῶν ἐμπόρων· Ρωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν κς' Ἰνδῶν κς' ἐκ τῶν νήσων Φαρσὰν ἑξήκοντα· ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰλὰ ιε', ἀπὸ τοῦ Κλύσματος κ', ἀπὸ Βερονίκης ζ', ἀπὸ Ἰωταβὶς β', ἀπὸ Φαρσὰν ζ', ἀπὸ Ἰνδίας δ'.»

24. Christides, *The Himyarite - Ethiopian War and the Ethiopian Occupation of South Arabia in the Acts of Gregentius (ca. 530 A.D.)*, Annales d'Éthiopie 9 (1972), p. 116. The authenticity of the «Laws» has been disputed for a long time; see the most recent article by G. L. Huxley, *On the Greek Martyrium of the Negranites*, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy 80, C, no. 3 (1980) p. 52. Unfortunately, all recent works have been based solely on the defective text of PG. The whole problem will be presented in my forthcoming paper *Byzantium in the Arabian Gulf: Sudan, Ethiopia and Yemen*, which will be read at the Late Antiquity Congress in Prague (Sept. 1982).

25. Maher, *Al-Baḥrīyah fī Miṣr al-Islāmiyah*, p. 30ff; Lombard, *Arsenaux et bois de marine dans la Mediterranée musulmane*, p. 129.

26. Maher, p. 51 ff.

27. Lombard, p. 112 ff.

28. Ibid., p. 118.

Egypt[29]. The notion of Moslem Crete as a "corsar's nest" cannot be sustained any more. The theory that Moslem Crete lived on the slave trade of Byzantine captives is also ludicrous[30]. Actually, the number of Moslem captives caught by the Byzantines far exceeded at all times that of the Byzantines held by the Moslems[31]. Therefore, no surplus of any Byzantine captives could be available for any profitable slave trade. During the Moslem occupation, Crete was transformed from a remote Byzantine province, subdued by a strictly controlled financial system, into an independent, booming, mercantile center with a sound monetary system of its own and free international trade[32].

The Arabic sources, save for Ibn Ḥawqal, inform us that the main goods exported from Crete to Egypt and the other Moslem states were dairy and agricultural products. Ibn Hawqal's statement about the export of timber must be correct and it is not surprising that Crete would also export timber to Egypt. But Egypt's importation of wood was not solely based on Crete and its reconquest by the Byzantines could not result in any irreplaceable shortages.

In general, Lombard's assumption that the conquest of Crete (961)and Tarsos (965) by the Byzantines, and that of Sicily by the Normands (1090) resulted in a severe shortage of timber, which irrevocably harmed the Moslem fleets and caused their final defeat at sea, cannot be accepted[33]. The loss of the semi-independent emirate of Tarsos betrayed the weakness of the disintegrating 'Abbāsid Empire on both land and sea. The fall of Crete was also due mainly to the disintegration of the Ikhshīdid Emirate of Egypt, which could no longer support Crete[34]. The Fāṭimids who succeeded the Ikhshīdids in Egypt remained the only considerable Moslem sea-power in the Mediterranean. They could no longer replace the mighty sea-power of the Moslem states in the middle of the tenth century; but they could still draw timber from the forests of North Syria. In spite of the fact that John Tsimiskes had prohibited the export of timber

29. Christides, *The Raids of the Moslems of Crete in the Aegean Sea: Piracy and Conquest*, Byzantion 51 (1981), p. 100.

30. Ibid., 78.

31. A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World*, London 1973, p. 388.

32. For Crete under the Moslems (ca. 824 - 961) in general see my forthcoming book *The Conquest of Crete by the Andalusians (ca. 824 - 961): A Turning Point in the Struggle between Byzantium and Islam*, to be published by the Greek Academy of Athens.

33. Lombard, p. 139 - 140.

34. Christides, *The Raids of the Moslems of Crete in the Aegean Sea*, p. 104 ff.

to the Moslems and that the Venetians officially followed the same policy, as Lombard himself admits, the smuggling of timber from Venice to the Moslem states developed into a lucrative business [35].

Seen in this light, the shortage of timber in the Moslem world was a minor factor in their loss of the struggle for sea-supremacy in the Mediterranean. The conflicts between the various Moslem states and their political decay, which coincided with a consolidation of power by the Byzantine Empire at the end of the tenth century, remain the prime causes for the Moslems' failure.

SHIPS

Warships and weapons

The *Naumachica* offers us some brief but important clues about the types of Byzantine warships and their military equipment. Its information is invaluable, though incomplete and occasionally vague. Unfortunately, the contribution of Qudāma's text on this topic is poor, but valuable because of the scanty evidence on Moslem ships in general.

There are basically two types of Byzantine warships the *dromon* and *pamphylos*. I believe that H. Ahrweiler correctly postulated that by the tenth century there was not any actual difference between those two types and the terms *dromon* and *pamphylos* were used indiscriminately [36].

The *Naumachica* describes the *dromon* as follows (Dain, p. 21, paragraph 9):

> Καὶ ἕτεροι δὲ δρόμωνες κατασκευαζέσθωσάν σοι τούτων μείζονες, ἀπὸ διακοσίων χωροῦντες ἀνδρῶν ἢ πλέον τούτων ἢ ἔλαττον κατὰ τὴν χρείαν τὴν δέουσαν ἐπὶ καιροῦ κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων·...

Translation:

> And other *dromones* of greater size should be constructed for you, which would carry two hundred men but also a few more or less in accordance with the need to combat the enemy as the case arises.

Based on the space each of the two hundred oars occupied in the above-mentioned average *dromon*, R. H. Dolley made a rough estimate of its length as about 130 feet with a beam of seventeen or eighteen feet [37].

35. Lombard, p. 134.
36. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, p. 45.
37. R. H. Dolley, *The Warships of the Later Roman Empire*, Journal of Roman Studies 38 (1948), p. 48.

Likewise, F. Van Doorninck also estimated the length of a *dromon* to be about 120 to 135 feet [38].

Leo's *Naumachica* does not mention whether the Byzantine *dromon* was lateen-rigged or with how many sails it was equipped. By the tenth century Byzantine warships were lateen-rigged. Lateen-rigged vessels appear in a Byzantine manuscript of the late ninth century, found in the National Library of Paris (MS Gr. 510), but their origin cannot be determined (Fig. 4).

The akidographemata of Byzantine ships collected by M. Getakos (Fig. 5) and more recently by F. A. Meinardus (Fig. 6, 7), though most of a later date, offer us clear depictions of lateen-rigged, one, two or three-masted Byzantine ships, of which the most illuminating is that of a *dromon* engraved on the Theseion (Fig. 8) [39]. Finally, R. H. Dolley's reconstruction of a *dromon* successfully conveys its actual appearance (Fig. 9).

According to the *Naumachica* the *dromon*, which, as shown above, was a two-banked vessel, was equipped with a flame thrower mounted in the bows and a forecastle where marines were engaged in throwing various types of missiles, i.e. heavy stones, pieces of iron and other projectiles [40]. In Basil's *Naumachica* the ram is also mentioned [41]. This was used not for sinking the enemy ships, but for inflicting on them minor blows and immobilizing them in order to hit them with projectiles. In Leo's *Naumachica* and Nicephoros Ouranos' treatise it is also mentioned that catapults (μάγγανα) were used on the ships [42].

Unfortunately, little is said about Moslem warships and the functions of crews in Qudāma's text. In general, our knowledge of types of Moslem ships is incomplete. No doubt the first Moslem ships were built after Byzantine models, as the papyri from Egypt inform us. The ships are simply called "*markab*" (pl. *marākib*) while the word "*safīnah*" (pl. *sufūn*) was also used during the pre-Islamic period. Adjectives used after the word

38. F. Van Doorninck *Byzantium, Mistress of the Sea: 360 - 641*, in *A History of Seafaring Based on Underwater Archaeology*, ed. G. F. Bass, London 1972, p. 145
39. Most of the akidographemata collected by M Getakos are published in K. A. Alexandres' *Ἡ θαλασσία δύναμις εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας*, Athens 1956. See also O. F. A. Meinardus, *Medieval Navigation According to Akidographemata in Byzantine Churches and Monasteries*, Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας 4th, ser., 6 (1970 - 1972), p. 29 - 59.
40. Dain, *Naumachica*, p. 20, paragraph 6.
41. Ibid., p. 66, paragraph 15.
42. *Naumachica*, p. 21, paragr. 13 and p. 74, paragr. 11.

"*markab*" define the various types, as for example "*markab kabīr*" (= big ship), "*thaqīl*" (= heavy ship), etc.[43]. The appellation "κουμβάρια" for ships of the Moslems mentioned in the Greek sources, obviously came from the term "*markab kabīr*", which corresponds to the "εὐμήκην δρόμων".

Like the Byzantine ships, the Moslem ones were lateen-rigged and those of larger size, whether cargo ships or warships, were three-masted (Fig. 10). The shape of the Moslem ships, merchant as well as warships, is often described by Arab poets as resembling the forms of various fish or birds, and Moslem iconography, as late as the fifteenth century, depicts ships romantically in these unrealistic shapes (Fig. 11)[44]. Obviously, as on the Byzantine ships, figures of birds and fish were simply drawn on the Moslem ships or curved on the prow — as it appears in an illustration of an Arabic manuscript (Fig. 12).

There are at least 200 Arab names of ships about which we only have a vague idea. A full and comprehensive study of the various types of Moslem ships is still a desideratum. A. M. Fahmy[45] for example, who deals with this subject extensively, fails to mention the *bawārij* among the main types of Moslem vessels, while S. Maher[46], considers it to be the larger type, carrying one thousand people. Nevertheless, Tabarī describes it as a light vessel used for one-ship attacks[47]. It carried a crew of forty-five: a governor (ishtiyām), three fire-throwers (*naf'āṭīn*), a carpenter (*najjār)*, a baker *(ḥabbaz)*, and thirty-nine oarsmen and marines *(jadhdhāfīn, muqātilah)*. Perhaps, like the word *dromon*, *bawārij* was both a generic term used for any type of warship and also the name of a specific type of warship.

Like the Byzantine *dromons*, the Moslem warships included mounted fire-throwers[48].

Both Byzantine and Moslem warships also used other incendiary weapons. Nicephoros Ouranos' *Taktika* mentions the use of earth-pots, stuffed with inflammable material and hurled against the enemy ships. Leo's *Naumachica* and Ouranos' *Taktika* also describe the use of such earthpots, filled with serpents and scorpions. While Qudāma's text does not have any reference to such projectiles, in the partially published Arabic manuscript 3469 of Istanbul, there are specific references to such hand grenades, accompanied with illustrations. (Library of Aḥmad III, 15th cent. MS).

Taktika (A. Dain, p. 84, paragraph 60):

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τζυκάλια κελεύομεν γέμοντα πυρὸς σκευαστοῦ ἵνα ῥίπτωνται ἔσωθεν τῶν πολεμικῶν πλοίων· κλωμένων γὰρ τῶν τζυκαλίων, εὐκόλως κατακαίονται τὰ πλοῖα. . .

Translation: We order earth-pots [to be prepared] full of made-up fire in order to be hurled inside the enemy ships; when the earth-pots burst the ships are easily set on fire. . .

Naumachica (Dain, p. 30, paragraph 61).

Καὶ θηρία ἕτεροι ἐπενόησαν ἐν χύτραις κεκλεισμένα καὶ κατὰ τῶν πλοίων τῶν πολεμίων ῥιπτόμενα· οἷον ὄφεις καὶ ἐχίδνας καὶ σαύρας καὶ σκορπίους. . .

Translation:

And others have invented the throwing of animals, stuffed in pots, at the enemy ships, such as serpents and vipers and lizards, and scorpions. . .

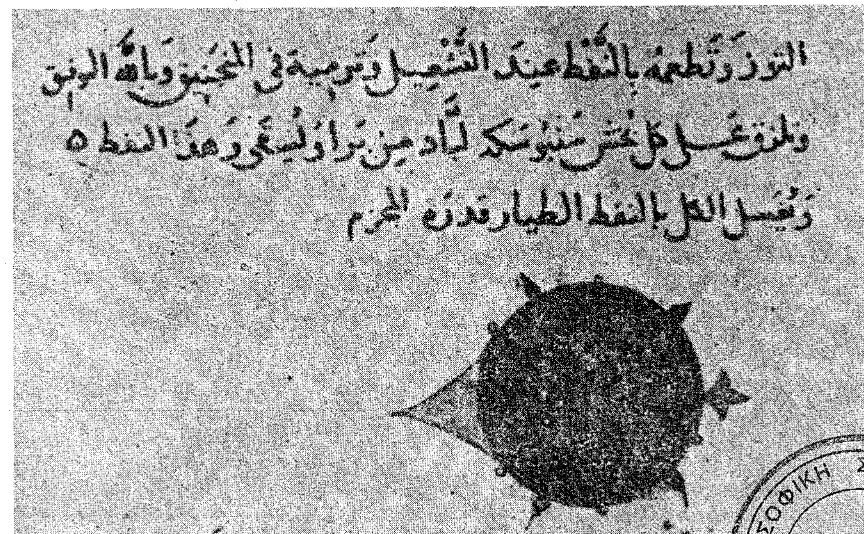


Fig. 3. Instructions for use of an earth-pot filled with combustibles. Arabic MS of Istanbul 3469. 15th century. (S. Maher, *Al-Bahrīyah*, MS. no. 17).

ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΚΗ ΣΧΟΛΗ ... ΙΩΑΝΝΙΝΩΝ

43. K. Dujaili, *Asmā mā fīl' Safīna*, Lughat al-'Arab 2 (1912 - 1913), p. 198ff.; J. Hornell *A Tentative Classification of Arab Sea Craft*, Mariner's Mirror 28 (1942), p. 11ff.; A. M. Fahmy, *Muslim Sea-Power*, London 1950, p. 125ff.; Tibbets, *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean*, p. 48ff; T. Darush. *Al-Sufun al-Umayyah*, Alexandria 1974.
44. See Abū Nuwās' verses in Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh*, X, ed. Beirut, n. d., p. 215 - 16.
45. Fahmy, *Moslem Sea-Power*, p. 125 - 137.
46. Maher, *Al-Baḥrīyah fī Miṣr al-Islāmiyah*, p. 74.
47. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, XI, ed. Beirut, n. d., p. 112.
48. The relevant Arabic sources appear in appendix III in my forthcoming book, *The Conquest of Crete by the Andalusians (ca. 824 - 961)*.

Translation:

> You take an earth-pot and open holes over the entire surface so that [the pot] would resemble a strainer. You put baked seeds of cotton in it... and you fill it with naphtha at the moment you kindle it. It is thrown on the engine...

The MS 3469 states that the earth-pots could be thrown by the *manganīn*, catapults, of which it offers a number of designs (Fig. 13).

A number of these earth-pots *(qarūra)* are in some museums of the Near East and were correctly considered by M. Mercier as incendiary bombs, in contrast to J. Sauvaget's view that they were simply wine jars (Fig. 14)[49].

Illuminations in other Arabic manuscripts present the same type of incendiary weapons *(qarūra)* (Figs. 15, 16)[50].

Anchors, steering oars, stern-rudders

In Leo's *Naumachica* (Dain, p. 20, paragr. 8) there are brief references to the anchors, steering oars and stern-rudders. The anchors are called in *Naumachica* ἄγκυραι and σίδηρα, i.e., iron, because they were usually made of iron. Leo's text simply refers to the anchors of a ship without any further details about their number and shape. Wrecks of Roman and Byzantine ships show that each ship carried seven or more anchors which by the first century were made of iron sheathed in wood[51]. Eleven iron anchors were on board the Byzantine ship of the seventh century, which was shipwrecked in Yassi Ada, the heaviest of them weighing about 129 kg[52].

Qudāma's text does not mention anything about anchors. In Ibn Mājid's text the anchors, usually called *anjar*, are also named *ḥadīd*, i.e., iron[53]. In the illuminations of the Ḥarīrī manuscript (13th century) a grappel anchor is clearly depicted (Figs. 17, 18).

49. M. Mercier, *Le feu grégeois*, Paris 1952, p. 92ff. J. Sauvaget, *Flacon à vin ou grenades à feu grégeois*, Annales de l'Institut de Philologie et Histoire Orientale et Slave 9 (1949), p. 525 - 530.

50. J. R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder*, Cambridge 1960, p. 205. Partington vaguely describes those illuminations as representing gunpowder containers or naphtha jars.

51. P. Throckmorton, *Romans on the Sea* in *A History of Seafaring Based on Underwater Archaeology*, ed. G. F. Bass, London 1972, p. 78. For the anchors in general see M. P. Mercanti, *Ancorae antiquae*, Rome 1979.

52. Van Doorninck, *Byzantium, Mistress of the Sea*, p. 140 - 141.

53. Tibbetts, *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean*, p. 55.

Leo's *Naumachica* refers very briefly to the steering oars (Dain, p. 20, paragraph 8): "τοὺς δύο κυβερνήτας τῶν τοῦ δρόμωνος αὐχένων, οὓς καλοῦσι πρωτοκαράβους..." Translation: "the two governors of the steering oars known as *protokaraboi*..." Here the word "αὐχήν", literary "neck", which originally meant loom, is used for the steering oar.

Basil's *Naumachica* is more explicit (Dain, p. 64 - 65, paragraph 86):

> Τῆς δὲ πρύμνης τὰ μέρη πάλιν ἑκάτερα πέτασοι καὶ σχιστὰ καὶ ἐπωτίδες λέγονται, ἐν οἷς ἐπίκεινται τὰ πηδάλια. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄκρον τοῦ πηδαλίου ἤτοι τοῦ αὐχένος λέγεται οἴαξ...

Translation:

> The parts [beams] on each side of the stern, on which the steering oars are placed, are called "spreaders" and "splinters" or "*epotides*" (projecting like ears). And the end of the steering oar, i.e. the loom, [the handle of the rudder, the helm] is called "οἴαξ";...

In the Late Roman[54] and Byzantine iconography these *epotides* are clearly depicted (Fif. 19); the projecting ends of the boxlike mountings of oars have also been found in the seventh century ship at Yassi Ada[55].

Unfortunately, Qudāma's text says nothing about steering oars. It can be assumed that at this time (10th century) the Moslems also had double steering oars. It must be noted that a single steering oar must have also continued to be used on the river boats, as for example in the river Nile, where from Pharaonic times one or two massive oars were used[56]. Such a single oar is also depicted on the Mopsuestia mosaic of the 4th century A.D.[57] A single steering oar of normal size also appears in a small fiishing boat, depicted in an eleventh century manuscript of Jerusalem (Fig. 20).

It is not known when and by whom the single stern-rudder was invented. Iconography can be misleading because it often follows stereotyped traditional patterns without showing the new technical developments. Thus, double steering oars appear in a twelfth century illumination from Italy (Fig. 21) and in a thirteenth century depiction from Sky-

54. R. B. Bandinelli, *Rome the Late Empire*, trans. P. Green, New York 1971, Fig. 213.

55. Van Doorninck, *Byzantium, Mistress* of the Sea, p. 140.

56. Lefebvre des Noëttes, *De la marine antique*, p. 10ff., Figs. 11, 13.

57. M. Cough, *The Origins of Christian Art*, London 1970, Fig. 65.

litzes' manuscript, presenting Abū Ḥafṣ' ships (Fig. 22). Hourani considers the single stern-rudder a Moslem invention, owing solely to an illustration in Ḥarīrī's manuscript, dating from 1237, in which a stern-rudder is depicted attached to a stern-pole (Fig. 23)[58]. Hourani considers the Ḥarīrī illustration the earliest definite representation of a single stern-rudder we possess. Furthermore, he believes that the earliest European representation of a stern-rudder dates from 1242, found on the seal of Elbing in Germany.

Nevertheless, both literary and iconographical evidence points to earlier Byzantine use of the single stern-rudder. Ph. Koukoules cogently argues that a passage of the twelfth century author Eustathios alludes to a single stern-rudder[59]. To this literary evidence we can add at least one representation of a Byzantine ship with a single rudder. It is depicted on a wall of the church of Christ the Saviour in Megara, dating from the twelfth century (Fig. 5, no. 3). If this akidographema was drawn in the same century the church was constructed (ca. 12th century), it offers an excellent piece of evidence for early Byzantine use of the stern-rudder. A stern-rudder also appears in an akidographema of Meinardus' collection, engraved on a wall of the church of St. Stiris dating from the 11th century (Fig. 6, no. 1).

Naturally, the origin of the single stern-rudder cannot be ascertained unless all relevant depictions are collected. The possibility of the parallel invention and development of the single stern-rudder in the East and the West should not be ruled out. For example, a random examination of some Moslem and Western artistic representations show certain obvious differences in the form of the stern-rudder. Thus, a comparison of a twelfth century Western illustration of a ship, equipped with a single stern-rudder, with an excellent depiction of a single stern-rudder of an Egyptian ship made of leather (dating from the Mamlūk period), and with another found in an Arabic manuscript (dating from the Ottoman period) suggests a possible different technological development (Figs. 24, 25, 26). An even more interesting Moslem manuscript illumination of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries presents a boat with two steering oars and a stern-rudder (Fig. 27).

58. G. F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring*, New York 1975, p. 99.

59. Ph. Koukoules, *'Εκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ βίου τῶν Βυζαντινῶν*, ΕΕΒΣ 21 (1951), p. 17 note 2: Eustathios (παρεκβ. 1533, 49): «ξυλύφιά τινα, δι' ὧν στρέφουσι τεχνικῶς τὸ πηδάλιον».



Fig. 4. Byzantine lateen-rigged vessel. MS Gr. 510. Ca. 880. National Library of Paris. (A. Grabar, *Byzantine Painting*, Cleveland 1953, Fig. 167).

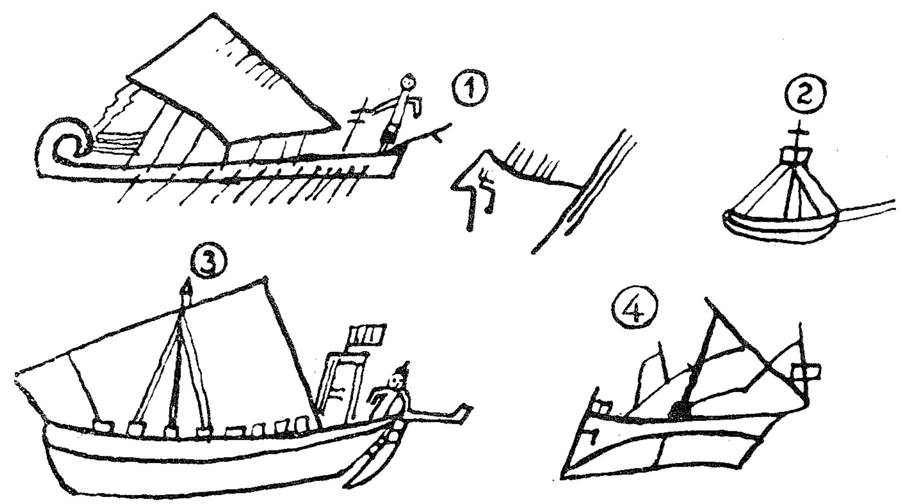


Fig. 5. Byzantine ships engraved on the wall of the temple of Christ the Saviour in Megara. Twelfth century. Getakos' collection. (Alexandres, Fig. 4).

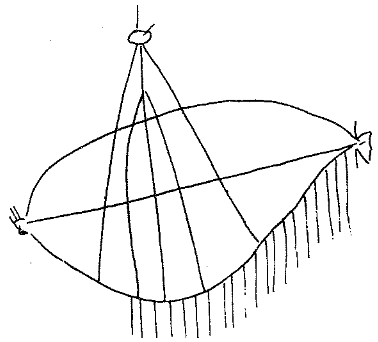


Fig. 6. Byzantine ship engraved on the north wall of the Church of St. Stiris. 13th century. Meinardus' collection, Fig. IV.

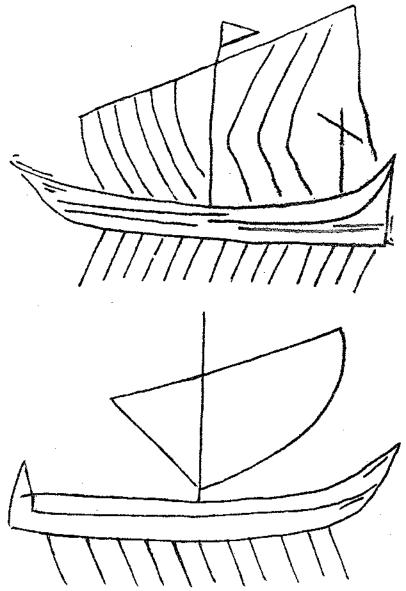


Fig. 7. Byzantine ships engraved on the south wall of the church of St. Nicholas of Mavrika, Aegina. Meinardus' collection, Fig. III. [O.F.A. Meinardus, *Medieval, Navigation According to Akidographemata in Byzantine Churches and Monasteries*, ΔΧΑΕ 6 (1970 - 1972)].

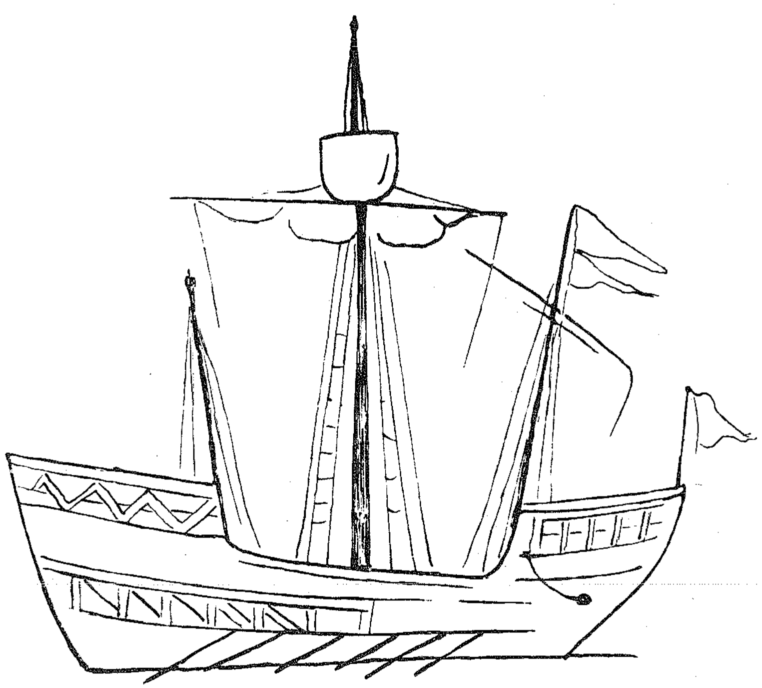


Fig. 8. A three-masted *dromon* engraved on the Theseion. Getakos' collection. (Alexandres, Fig. 1).

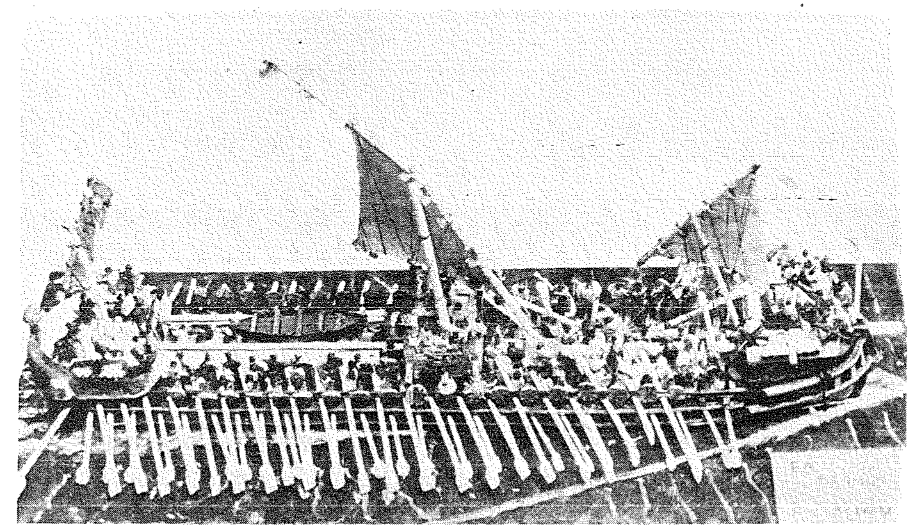


Fig. 9. R. H. Dolley's reconstruction of a Byzantine ship. (*The Warships of the Later Roman Empire*, Fig. 5).

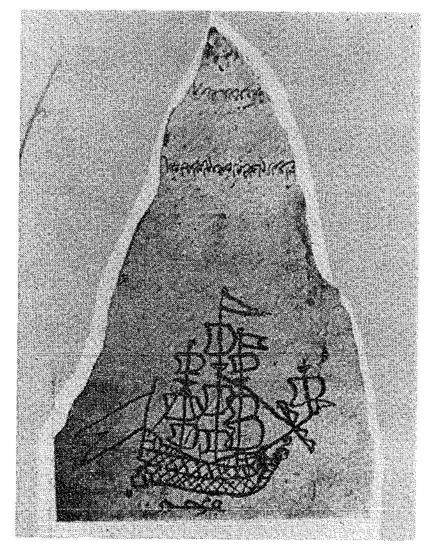


Fig. 10. Drawing of a three-masted Egyptian ship. Illumination from an undated Arabic MS. Museum of Moslem Art, Cairo. (S. Maher, *Al-Bahriyah*, Fig. 45).

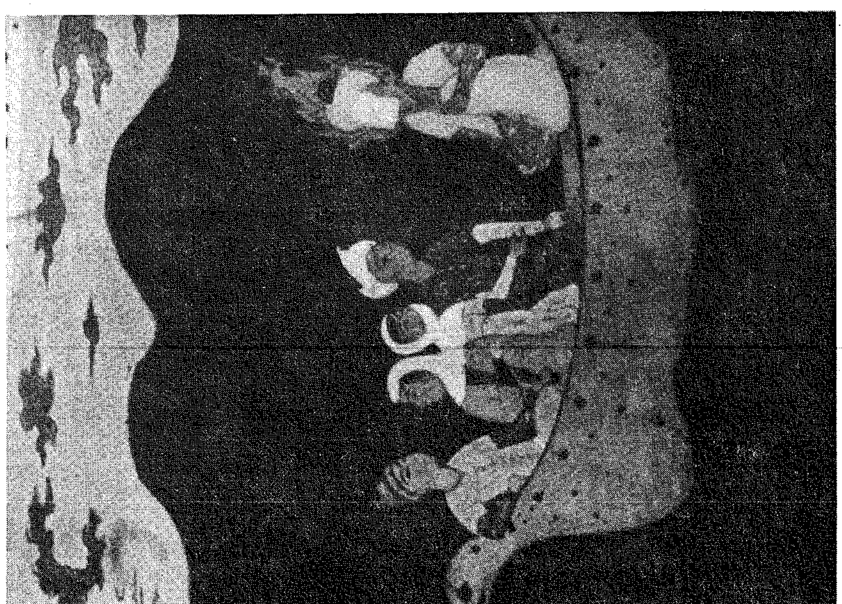


Fig. 11. Moslem ship. Persian MS. 15th century. (Maher, *Al-Bahriyah*, Fig. 64).

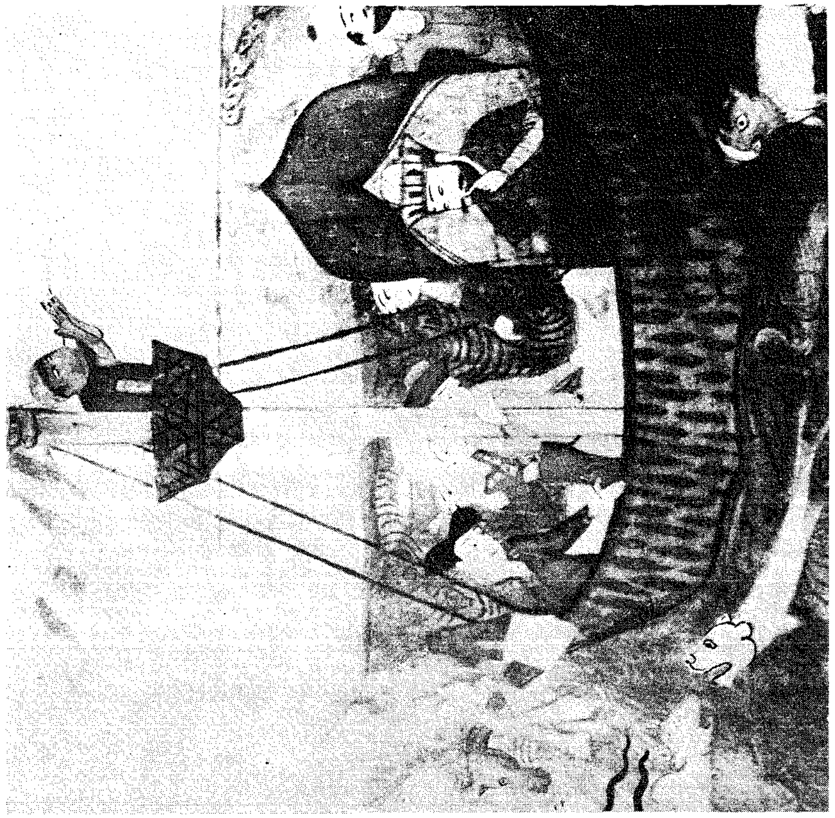


Fig. 12. Moslem vessel, ending in an animal's head. Clear depiction of the look-out boy. Persian MS, A.H. 924. (Maher, *Al Baḥrīyah*, Fig. 58).

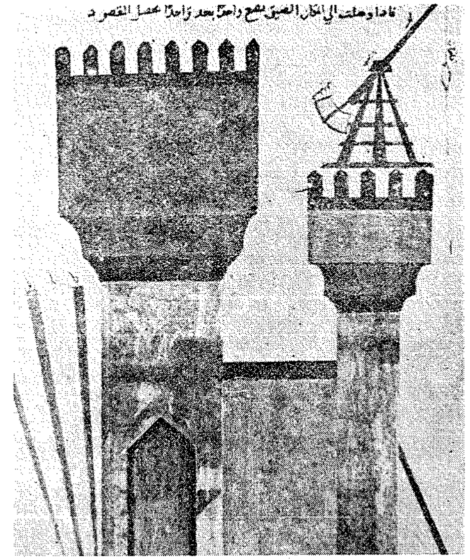


Fig. 13. Catapult. Arabic MS of Istanbul 3469. 15th century. (Maher, *Al-Baḥrīyah* MS no. 15).

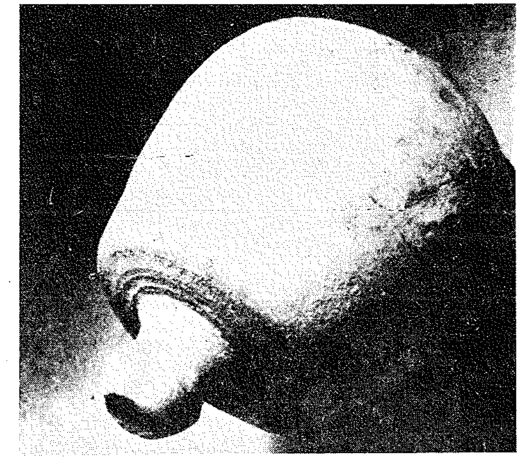


Fig. 14. Egyptian earth-pot filled with combustibles· 12th cent. or earlier. (M. Mercier, *Le feu grégeois*, Fig. XIII).

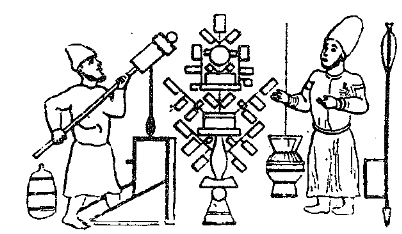


Fig. 15. Incendiary weapons (*qarūra*). Arabic manuscript illumination. (J. R. Partington. *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder*, Cambridge 1960, Fig. 10).

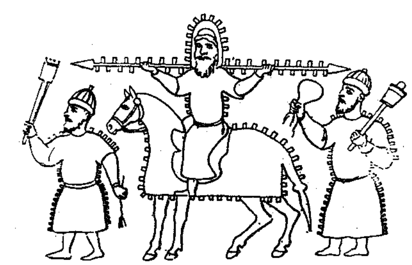


Fig. 16. Incendiary weapons (*qarūra*). (Pantington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder*, Fig. 11).

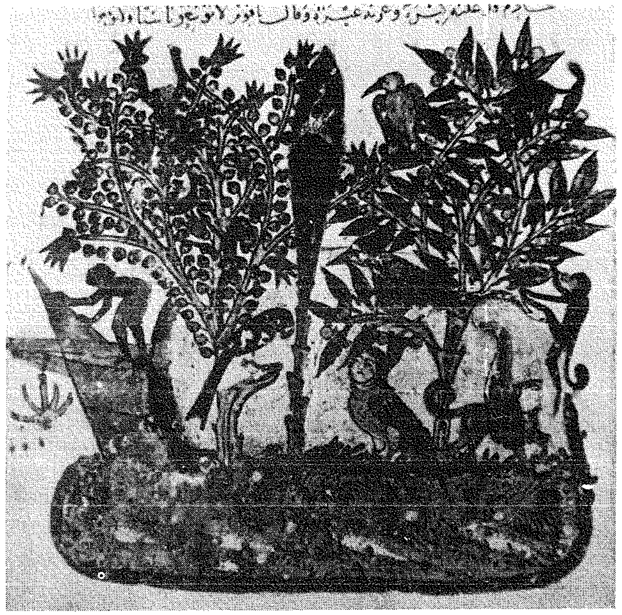


Fig. 17. Moslem cargo ship on the Eastern Isles. Illumination. The Harīrī Ar. MS 5847, A.D. 1237. National Library of Paris. (D. T. Rice, *Islamic Art*, Fig. 108).

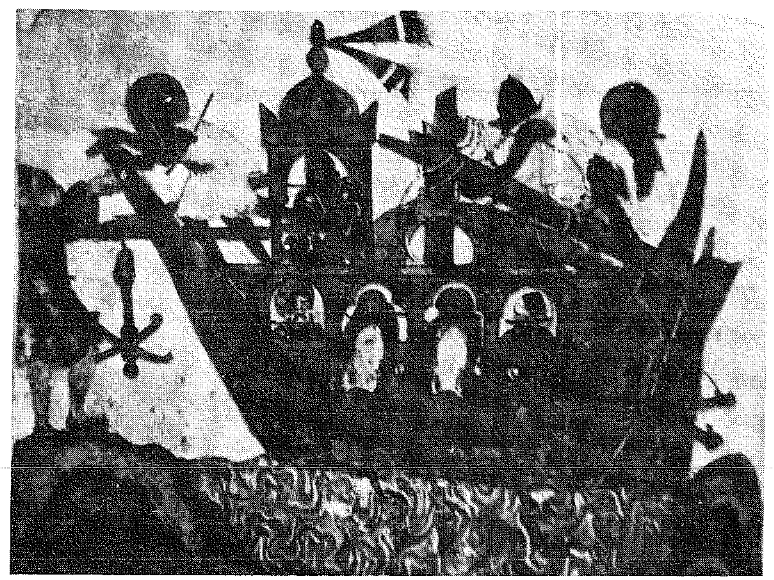


Fig. 18. Crew of a cargo ship. Illumination. Persian MS. A.H. 691. (Maher, *Al-Baḥrīyah*, Fig. 72).



Fig. 19. Byzantine illumination of a sailing boat with one steering oar and with a clear distinction of the *epotides*. National Library of Paris. Parisinus Graecus no. 135, fol. 220 v. Ca. 1362. (H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance*, Fig. 7).

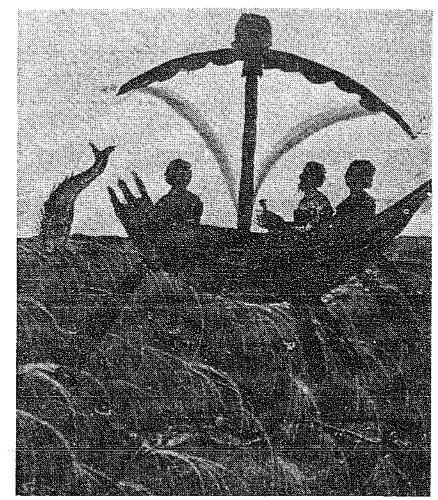


Fig. 20. Byzantine boat. Greek MS Hagiou Taphou 14. 11th century. Jerusalem. (A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine,* Paris 1974, Fig. 4).

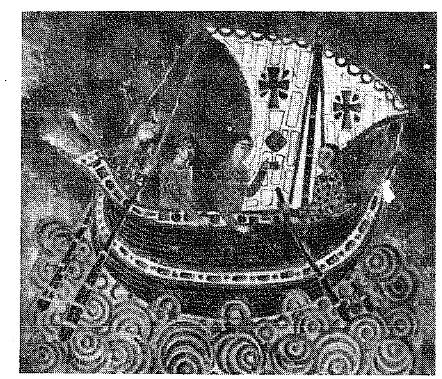


Fig. 21. Double steering oar. Manuscript illumination. 12th century. Saint Marc, Venice. (Lefebvbe des Noëttes, *De la marine antique*, Fig. 66).



Fig. 22. Abū Ḥafṣ'Moslem ships. MS of Skylitzes. 13th century. National Library of Madrid. Courtesy photo.

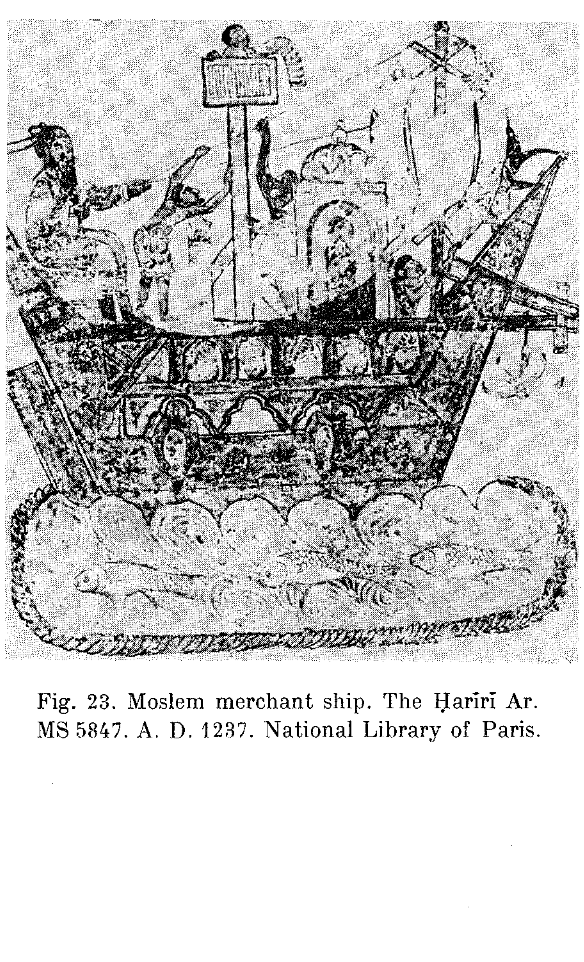


Fig. 23. Moslem merchant ship. The Ḥarīrī Ar. MS 5847. A. D. 1237. National Library of Paris.



Fig. 24. Stern-rudder. 15th century. Codex Germanicus. Berlin. (Lefebvre des Noëttes, *De la marine antique*, Fig. 70).

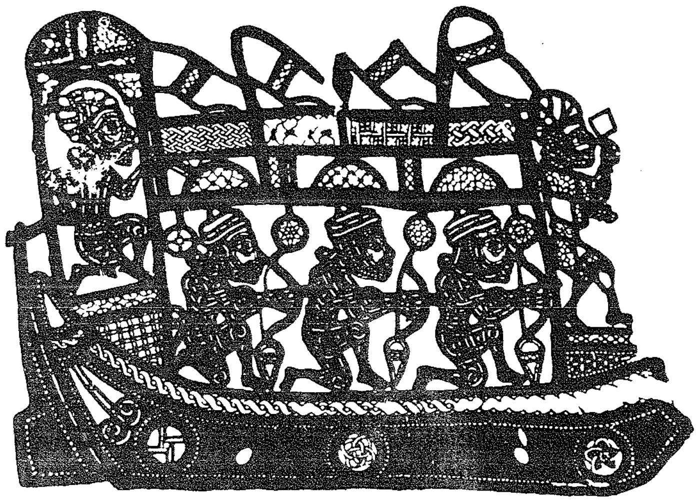


Fig. 25. Mamlūk ship. Made of leather. (W. Hoenerbach, *Araber und Mittelmeer Anfänge und Probleme arabischer Seegeschichte*, Kiel 1967, Fig. 10).

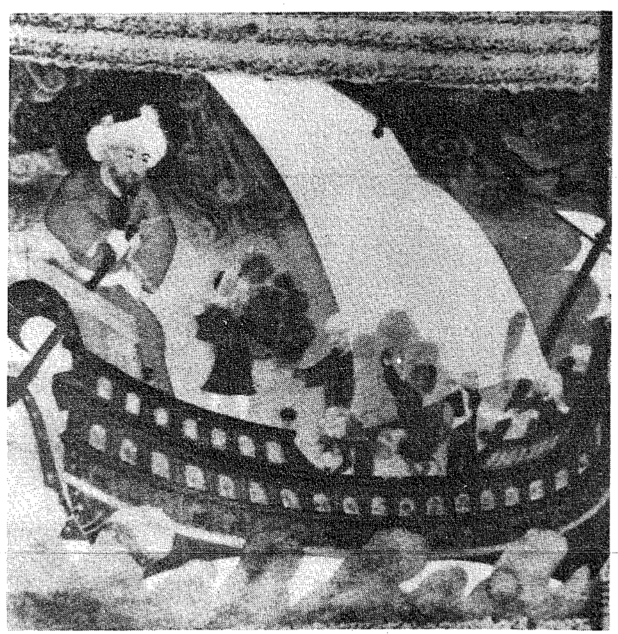


Fig. 26. A clear depiction of the stern-rudder. Illumination. Arabic manuscript of the Ottoman period. (Maher, *Al-Baḥrīyah*, Fig. 72).

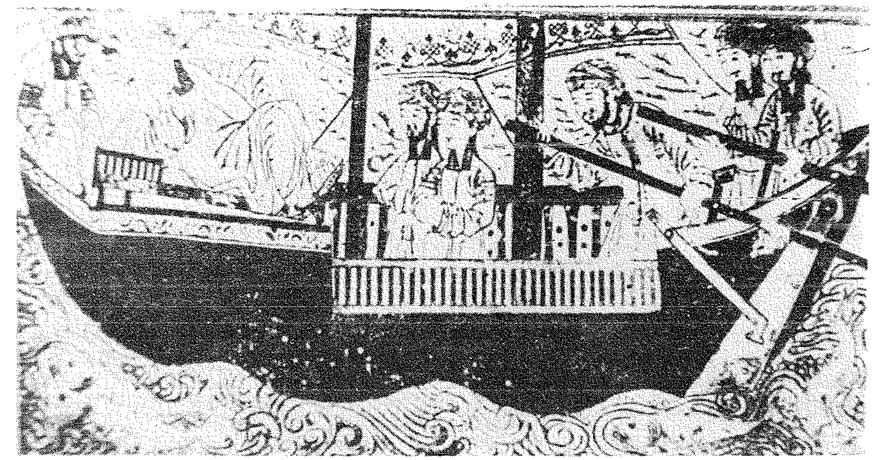


Fig. 27. Two steering cars and a stern-rudder. Moslem manuscript illumination. 15th - 16th centuries. (Lefebvre des Noëttes, *De la marine antique*, Fig. 92).

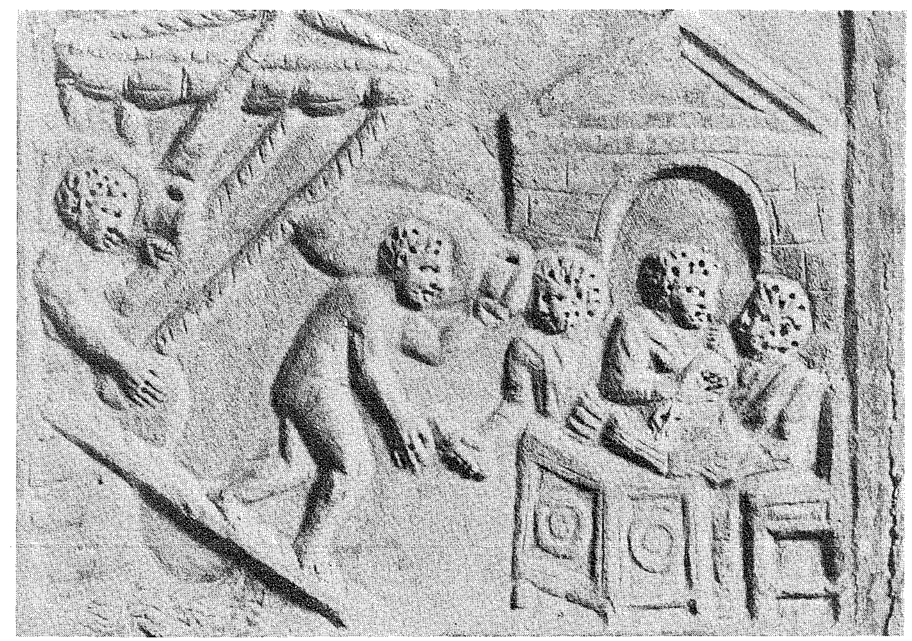


Fig. 28. Stevedores at work. Relief found at Portus. 3rd century A.D. (L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, Fig. 174).

CREWS

Recruiting of sailors

There are several misconsceptions concerning the Byzantine and Moslem crews; however, both Leo's *Naumachica* and Qudāma's text offer us invaluable information about the special efforts to recruit experienced and able sailors for the Byzantine and Moslem fleets.

Naumachica (Dain, p. 23, paragraph 20):

Τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἀνδρείους ἐπιλέγου καὶ προθύμους...
(Paragraph 21):
... ὥσπερ οἱ κυνηγέται τῶν κυνῶν ἑκάστου τὰς ἐπιτηδειότητας ἐπιγινώσκοντες...

Translation:

Select the soldiers who are brave and zealous... in the same manner as hunters who know the skill of each of their dogs...

Qudāma's text (Hamidullah, p. 312 - 13, Khadivajum, p. 34-35):

ويحيز النواتية ويعتمد من له الحذق والدربة منهم والحنكة
والتجربة من جميعهم حتى لا يدخل فيهم من لا يصلح دخوله ولا
يخالطهم من يكون غيره أحق بالعمل منه.

Translation:

He [the admiral] should select the sailors and rely only upon those who have skill and training, and know-how and experience, so that nobody who is unable will join [the navy]; and nobody should have anything to do with sailing as long as there is another more qualified to perform the job.

The two basic qualities of a good sailor mentioned in Qudāma's text, i.e., experience and skill, were required from the early Moslem period as manifested in a papyrus, dating from 710 A.D., sent by the governor Qurra to the pagarch Basileos[60].

In another passage Qudāma's text becomes more explicit and mentions that all ranks of the crews, including the oarsmen, should be well qualified.

60. H. I. Bell, *The Greek Aphrodite Papyri in the British Museum*, Der Islam 2 (1911), no. 1353.

Hamidullah (p. 312, Khadivajum, p. 34):

وأمره أن لا يدخل في النفاطين والنواتية والجذافين ولا في
غيرهم من ذوي الصناعات والمهن في المراكب إلا من كان
طباً ماهراً حاذقاً

Translation:

And he [the Emir] ordered him [the admiral] not to accept any but the best among the fire-throwers, sailors and oarsmen and the rest of the professionals and the experts in boats...

The evidence of *Naumachica* and Qudāma's document amply clarifies how erroneous the frequently expressed view is that sailors of the Moslem and Byzantine navies and merchant marine were brutalized slaves or at best slavish creatures[61]. Ct. Lefebvre des Noëttes presents them chained in their benches where they ate and slept, washed solely by the waves of the sea[62]. Such conditions were, in general, created on board only after the fourteenth century.

Even Dolley, who rejects this misconception, expressed the opinion that the oarsmen of the lowest level of the Moslem ships were treated "comme des bêtes", basing his argument on the condition which prevailed in the Moslem ships of Leo of Tripoli on their return after the sack of Thessaloniki (904), as described by Caminiates[63]. This is also erroneous. Caminiates presents an extraordinary picture of overcrowded Moslem ships, overloaded with booty and prisoners. This was contrary to practice and Moslem principles of navigation which recommend that ships should be moderately loaded lest they sink[64]. As a result of Leo of Tripoli's overloading, even a ship of his fleet was wrecked[65]. But, the situation on the lower deck of Leo's ships, where the rowers' headquarters were located, was not made to be a devil's hole.

Concerning the crews of the Byzantine and Moslem merchant ships, the information we possess again indicates a far from being depressing situation.

The main source concerning the crews of the Byzantine merchant marine is the Rhodian Sea-Law, written circa the seventh or eighth cen-

61. Dolley, *Origin of the Ram*, Mariner's Mirror 35¹ (1949), p. 157 - 158.
62. Lefebvre des Noëttes, *De la marine antique*, p. 41.
63. Dolley, *Origin of the Ram*, p. 158.
64. Maher, *Al-Baḥriyah fī Miṣr al-Islāmiyah*, p. 283.
65. Caminiates, ed. G. Böhlig, New York 1973, p. 64.

tury[66]. It states the salaries of the crews and therefore indirectly their status. They appear as follows: [67]

> (a) ναυκλήρου μισθὸς μέρη δύο; (b) κυβερνήτου μισθὸς μέρος ἓν ἥμισυ; (c) πρωρέως μισθὸς μέρος ἓν ἥμισυ; (d) ναυπηγοῦ μισθὸς μέρος ἓν ἥμισυ; (e) καραβίτου μισθὸς μέρος ἓν ἥμισυ; (f) ναύτου μισθὸς μέρος ἕν; (g) παρασχαρίτου μισθὸς ἥμισυ.

Translation:

> (a) a master's (governor of the ship) payment of two shares; (b) a steerman's payment of one share and a half; (c) a sailors' (on the prow) supervisor's payment of one share and a half; (d) a caulker's payment of one share and a half; (e) a sailor's payment of one and a half; (f) an oarsman's payment of one share; (g) a cook's (?) payment of half a share.

It is clear from the text above that the members of the crews, who were engaged in the risky profession of sailing at this time, were lucratively rewarded. They were not paid a fixed salary, but shares, based on the profit of the ship's transport. On the top was the captain of the ship; the governors of the steerings-oars, the caulkers, the rowers and sailors followed slightly behind him and the last was the cook with one fourth of the captain's reward. The overall picture of the status of the crews shows that there was no room for the ill-paid or for slaves, chained or unchained.

Late Roman and Byzantine iconography does not reveal any chained miserable crews. In a Roman relief of the third century A. D., found at Portus, two naked persons appear bent under the weight of huge wine jars, which they carry towards the shipping clerks (Fig. 28). These two figures are not sailors but stevedores, forming a professional class of persons, the "professionaride ciconiis", who zealously unloaded the cargo of ships in port and did not permit any sailors to interfere with their job[68].

Merchant sailors in Byzantine iconography appear in general busily

66. W. Ashburner, *The Rhodian Sea Law*, Oxford 1909, p. cxii.

67. Ashburner (p. lxiii) was puzzled with the term "πρωρεὺς" which means "supervisor of the sailors on the deck", and the difference between καραβίτης and ναύτης the first referring to the sailor who was an expert of weather and navigation and the second to an oarsman. For these terms see Koukoules, *'Εκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ βίου τῶν Βυζαντινῶν*, p. 25 - 26. Ashburner's translation of the term "παρασχαρίτης" seems reasonably correct.

68. L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1973, p. 370.

occupied with their duties, whether leaning heavily on their oars or being engaged in other duties. (See for example a fourth-century illustration on a mosaic[69] and a fourteenth-century Byzantine illumination (Fig. 20). No chains or whips are visible).

As for the use of slaves in the Late Roman and Byzantine merchant fleets, while there was a considerable number of slaves in Roman times, it greatly diminished in the Byzantine period, and there was no distinction between free and slave sailors. The latter could become shipmasters, having free sailors under their command[70].

Likewise, Moslem iconography does not reveal any abhorrent situation about the crews of merchant ships at any level, but depicts them busily engaged in their duties (see Figs. 17, 18).

In the literary sources seamen of cargo ships appear as adventurous, and as gaining handsome profits[71]. As for the slaves of Moslem ships, they are not discriminated against or even distinguished from free sailors[72].

Returning to the selection of sailors by Byzantines and Moslems, we notice that both used a forced draft, but eventually, anxious to raise the level of efficiency of their crews, they became more discriminating.

The Byzantines imposed on the inhabitants of maritime themes the duty to serve in the navy and severe punishments were imposed on those who neglected it. But this duty was strictly applied only to a section of the sea-faring population which could guarantee loyal service, i.e., the prosperous citizens (εὔποροι)[73]. Those citizens did not suffer any financial damage from conscription, but instead their wealth was increased by special gifts offered to them by the state. Anxious to secure a loyal army, the Byzantine Empire distributed flefs to the land soldiers[74]. There are some indications, which cannot be fully confirmed, that such military fiefs were also given to the marines, at least from the time of Nicepho-

69. Ibid., Fig. 141.

70. Ibid., p. 328.

71. Sindbād the sailor is a typical example of an adventurous wealthy sailor and merchant; see the Boston translation (no author) (1841), p. 15: «we traded from island to island and exchanged commodities with great profit».

72. Slaves play no important part as members of the crew of cargo ships in Sindbād's travels (see above note 71).

73. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance*, Paris 1966, p. 113. For the «theme» of the Aegean from where many sailors were recruited see the recent article by Aik. Christophilopoulou, *Τὰ σφραγιστικὰ κατάλοιπα γιὰ τὴν διοικητικὴ ἐξέλιξη τοῦ νησιωτικοῦ συγκροτήματος τοῦ Αἰγαίου ἀπὸ τὸν Ζ' μέχρι τὸν Θ' αἰώνα*, Χιακὰ Χρονικὰ ΙΒ' (1980), p. 18 - 21.

74. For the military fiefs see J. Karayannopoulos, *Contribution au problème de «thèmes byzantins»*, L'Hellénisme contemporain 2nd ser., 10 (1956), p. 500 - 501.

ros (802-811), safeguarding their welfare and ensuring their loyalty [75].

The Moslem practices of recruiting, in general, are poorly recorded. The only place where those practices are well documented, at least in the Early Arab period, is Egypt. Nevertheless, we should be careful to avoid overgeneralizations, as Fahmy has done in failing to understand that there was no monolithic recruitment system from the middle of the seventh to the tenth centuries in Egypt [76].

Recruitment in Egypt started almost immediately after its conquest by the Arabs in the middle of the seventh century. There is ample information about the Moslem recruitment of Egyptian sailors in this early period. The Greek and Arabic papyri of Egypt describe in detail the severe punishments enforced by the Moslems in case of negligence in the important duty of serving in the navy [77]. Using a collective form of recruitment, the Moslems demanded a precise number of sailors from all the administrative districts of Egypt. Special quotas were assigned for each village and hamlet, according to registers where all persons liable for service were listed.

According to this system, theoretically, men from various social classes and professions were drawn into the maritime military service; but actually, since personal service culd be usually replaced by a money compensation, the recruits must have come mainly from experienced sailors [79]. Thus the maritime expenses fell upon the entire population of Egypt, but the duties were performed mainly by professionals. It seems that after the frantic efforts of early times to build ships and recruit sailors, Egypt fell into a period of negligence, which explains the ease with which the Byzantine navy attacked Damietta in 853 [80]. Intensified recruitment was introduced in Egypt immediately after this raid. Under great pres-

75. Antoniadis - Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance*, p. 110. See also the illuminating article by Christophilopoulou, *Ἡ οἰκονομικὴ καὶ δημοσιονομικὴ πολιτικὴ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Νικηφόρου Α'* in *Εἰς μνήμην Κ. Ἀμάντου,* Athens 1960, p. 413 - 431.

76. Fahmy, *Moslem Sea Power*, p. 98ff.

77. Ibid., p. 100 - 101.

78. Ibid., p. 99.

79. For the creation of professional Islamic armies in general, after the ninth century, see C. E. Bosworth, *Recruitment, Muster and Review in Medieval Islamic Armies*, in *War Technology and Society in the Middle East*, eds, V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp, London 1975, p. 59 - 77.

80. G. Levi della Vida, *A Papyrus Reference to the Damietta Raid of* 853 *A.D.*, Byzantion 17 (1944 - 1945), p. 212 - 222, and R. Rémondon, *A propos de la ménace byzantine sur Damiette sous le règne de Michel III*, Byzantion 28 (1953), p. 245 - 250.

sure from Caliph Mutawakkil, the governor of Egypt, 'Anbasa bn. Isḥāq al-Dabbī, made efforts to recruit sailors, and a defensive Egyptian fleet was rapidly created [81].

An Arabic papyrus published by G. Levi della Vida, dating from 855-856, vividly illustrates the great demand for recruits on the local population of Egypt at that time. This pressure created anxiety and dissatisfaction among Egyptians. However, Levi della Vida [82] somewhat exaggerated this situation, postulating that there was a permanent dissatisfaction of the local population and aversion to conscription as a form of recruitment, and disputing Maqrīzī's glamorous description of the Egyptian marines [83]. While the above-mentioned papyrus realistically describes the situation which existed immediately after the panic of the Byzantine raid on Damietta in the middle of the ninth century, Maqrīzī refers to the early tenth century.

The special attention both Byzantines and Moslems paid to their navies is shown in their efforts to keep them financially satisfied. Both sources, the *Naumachica* and the *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, advise that navy people should be paid regularly without any delays [84]. The salaries of the various ranks of navy people are mentioned in the book *De cerimoniis*, and they have been meticulously tabulated by Antoniadis-Bibicou [85]. The salaries of the Moslems, based on the papyri of Egypt, have been somewhat loosely arranged by Fahmy [86]. It can be added that in the ninth century there was an increase of salaries for sailors in the Byzantine and Moslem navies. During Michael II's reign (820 - 829) his admiral Ooryphas, who defeated the Moslem fleet of Crete, increased the sailors' salaries and paid more attention to their selection [87]. After the Byzantine attack on Damietta (853), just a few years later, the salaries of the Moslem sailors had been raised, as Maqrīzī informs us [88].

81. Kindī, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. R. Guest, London 1912, p. 202; Ibn Duqmaq, *Al-Intisār lī Wāsitat 'Iqd al-Amsār*, V, Cairo 1891, p. 80 - 81. There are some more Byzantine raids against Damietta after 853 which have not been adequately studied; see *Rémondon, A propos de la ménace byzantine sur Damiette*, p. 247.

82. Levi della Vida, *A Papyrus Reference to the Damietta Raid*, p. 218 ff.

83. Maqrīzī's statement is in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*, II, 191 (= ed. Wiet, vol. IV, 40).

84. Dain, *Naumachica*, p. 22, paragr. 18; *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Hamidullah, p. 312; Khadivajum, p. 33.

85. Antoniadis - Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance*, p. 142ff., see also p. 109ff.

86. Fahmy, *Muslim Sea Power*, p. 109 - 111.

87. Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bonn, p. 81.

88. See above note 83.

Fahmy, nevertheless, failed to mention that the Moslem sailors had some extra benefits, i.e., like the Moslem foot soldiers, they participated in the legal division of maritime spoils *(= ghanā'ym al-ḥarb al-baḥrıyah)* [89]. The most glaring example of an unusually rich participation in maritime spoils is the reward received by those who particupated in Leo of Tripoli's expedition against Thessaloniki, which Ṭabarī estimated as much as 1,000 dinars [90]. Byzantine sailors, on the other hand, had similar, though not so well defined by law, rights for maritime spoils. In the *Naumachica*, it is suggested that after the war they should share the spoils equally and be treated with a special feast [91] (Dain, p. 33).

Duties of the Crews

The fighting in the Byzantine navy was performed mainly but not solely by the marine troops. But it is noteworthy that we do not find in the Greek texts the clear distinction which we meet in the Arabic sources between a) the sailors who took care of the masts; b) the oarsmen and c) the marine troops. It is only in Kekaumenos' *Strategicon* (11th century) that we meet the dictum that one of the most absurd things would be to see a sailor transformed into a fighter [92].

In Leo VI's *Naumachica* there is a more detailed account of Byzantine oarsmen's responsibilities. Leo suggests that from the regular crew of 200 men (Dain, p. 21, paragr. 9) one hundred and fifty were placed on the upper bank and in addition to their rowing, they were physically well equipped to participate in fighting. Leo VI further suggests that fifty oarsmen with fewer qualifications and unproven bravery should be placed in the lower deck; but in the case of great danger, mobilization of the oarsmen of the lower deck is necessary and replacements for wounded or dead in the upper bank must be provided by the lower bank (Dain, p. 23, paragr. 10).

Neither in Leo VI's nor in any other Byzantine author's *Naumachica* do we find the specific number of marines who were included in a *dromon*

89. For the spoils of sea warfare according to the Moslem jurists, see Ṭabarī, *Kitāb al-Jihād*, ed. Joseph Schacht, Leiden 1933, p. 86.

90. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, XI, ed. Beirut, p. 391.

91. A. Dain, *Le partage du butin de guerre d'après les traités juridiques et militaires*, Actes du VIe congrès international d'études byzantines, I, Paris 1950, p. 347 - 352.

92. Kekaumenos' *Στρατηγικόν*, ed. B. Wassiewsky and V. Jernestedt, 1896, p. 52 - 53.

of 200 oarsmen [93]. In *De cerimoniis* we meet constant references to a *dromon* carrying 250 oarsmen and 70 marines [94]. There is almost always a clear ditinction between oarsmen (κωπηλάτες) and fighting marines (πολεμισταί).

However, in one passage of *De cerimoniis* we meet the statement [95]:

> Ὁ δρόμων ὀφείλει ἔχειν ἄνδρας τ′, οἱ μὲν σλ′ πλόϊμοι, κωπηλάται ἤτοι καὶ πολεμισταί, καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι ο′ ἄνδρες πολεμισταί. . .

Translation:

> The *dromon* must have a crew of 300 men, the 230 *ploimi* (i.e., oarsmen and fighters) and the rest 70 fighters. . .

Thus this statement confirms Leo's assertion that oarsmen also performed duties of fighters [96a].

In Leo's *Naumachica* there is the same spirit of the double function of oarsmen in the description of the duties of two praw-oarsmen (πρωραῖοι ἐλάτες); one is also a naphtha-thrower (σιφωνάτωρ) and the other in charge of manning the anchors (ὁ τὰς ἀγκύρας βάλλων) (Dain, p. 20, paragr. 8).

There is no distinction in the Byzantine sources between sailors, i.e., experts in weather and nautical art, and oarsmen. In the text of Leo's *Naumachica* it is stated from the very beginning that the basic qualifications of an admiral are first expertise in naval battles and second knowledge of weather navigation by the stars [96b]. In Nicephoros Ouranos' *Taktika*, weather expertise is even considered the prime qualification of an admiral [97].

While Leo's *Naumachica* is mute about nautical art among the rest of the crew, in Syrianos' *Naumachica* and in Nicephoros' *Taktika* we have

93. Dain, *Naumachica*, p. 21, paragr. 12: «τὸν δὲ τῶν δρομώνων ἀριθμὸν καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς στρατιωτῶν ἀνείκαστόν ἐστιν καὶ ἄδηλον διορίσασθαι».

94. *De cerimoniis*, ed. Bonn, p. 652, 653, 654.

95. Ibid., p. 670.

96a. In the tenth century military manual, which bears the title *Leonis VI sapientis problemata*, ed. Dain, Paris 1935, p. 90, there is no mention of the duties of oarsmen, but only a brief note on the marines: «Χρησίμους δὲ τοξότας ἐν αὐτοῖς [δρόμωσι] βάλλειν καὶ γενναίους, καὶ καστελῶσαι αὐτούς».

96b. Dain, *Naumachica*, p. 19, paragr. 2: «πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὦ στρατηγέ, τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως δεῖ εἶναί σε ἐπιστήμονα τῆς ναυμαχικῆς ἐμπειρίας. . . καὶ προγιγνώσκειν τὰς τῶν ἀέρων καὶ τῶν πνευμάτων κινήσεις. . .»

97. Dain, p. 71, paragr. 2: «πρῶτον μὲν ὦ στρατηγέ, ὀφείλεις ἔχειν πεῖραν καὶ γινώσκειν τῶν ἀέρων καὶ τῶν ἀνέμων τὰς κινήσεις. . .».

some explicit references. In both texts it is said that in every ship of the Byzantine fleet there should be included at least one expert in sailing [98]. Moreover, both these texts emphasize that two oarsmen on every ship must also be efficient caulkers, ready to repair any damages [99a]. It is also suggested that as many as possible oarsmen should be familiar with rudimentary techniques of repairs.

In the Arabic sources the division of duty of Moslem crews was more strictly adhered to than in the Byzantine sources. Thus, in the abovementioned Ṭabarī's passage, referring to the Moslem warship *bawārij*, we find that oarsmen, marines, carpenters (caulkers), and bakers (=cooks) are distinguished even in this small warship of 100 men.

In Qudāma's text the various classes of crews are again strictly separated, i.e., the sailors *(al-nawātiyah)*, oarsmen *(al-qadhāfīn)*, the marines *(al-jund)* and even the special group among the marines who were engaged in naphtha throwing *(al-nafāṭīn)* (Hamidullah, 312; Khadivajum, 33). Ibn al Mammātī estimates the number of oarsmen to 140 [99b].

It must be noted here that at the beginning of the creation of the Moslem navy in the seventh century, there was a great gap between the oarsmen and sailors on the one hand, and the marines on the other. The first sailors of the Moslem navy were mainly Christians from Egypt, and some from the Syrian coast. Eventually, a great number of the Egyptian and Syrian sailors were Moslems. In the famous sea battle of dhat al-Ṣawārī (655 A.D.), which marks the first conspicuous entrance of the Moslem fleets into the struggle for sea supremacy in the Mediterranean, it is mentioned that there was a whole ship with practically no Moslems save for a handful who ended up in that ship after a quarrel in another ship [100]. In this battle the marines who carried the fight were Moslems. They were either *Muharrijūn* (=pure blooded Arabs) or *Mawālin* (=converted Christians). We have no information about their exact salaries and their military hierarchy. We only know that the governor of Syria, Muʿāwiyah, was the chief of the naval forces of Syria, and that the governor of Egypt [101], ʿAbd Allāh bn. Sa'd bn. Abī Sarh, was also Egypt's chief of the naval forces. We do not know any details about the officers who participated in this battle, but probably the Moslem marine officers

98. Dain, p. 46, paragr. 3; p. 93, paragr. 2.
99a. Dain, p. 46, paragr. 4; p. 93, paragr. 4.
99b. Ibn al-Mammātī, see below note 103.
100. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, III ed. Beirut, 1967, p. 59; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, V, ed. Beirut, n. d., p. 71.
101. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al Kāmil*, III, p. 58.

retained their ranks as land officers. The captains of the ships and those in charge of safety at sea were Christians. Normally, according to the Moslem law, the Christians had no obligation to fight since they were *ahl al-dhimmah* (= protected people) whose only obligation was to pay taxes *(jizyah)*, while the fighting was the duty of the Moslems, as the jurist Abū Yūsuf explicitly states [102]. Nevertheless, I believe that even in the early sea battle of dhāt al-Ṣawārī, some fighting must have been performed by Christians. How else can we explain the existence of whole ships without any Moslem marines?

When we reach the tenth century, the situation in the Moslem navy has drastically changed. Now the great majority of the sailors were Moslems, drafted from the Syrian seacoast towns and Egypt, along with a number of Christians from the latter. The rigid contingents of land troops, loaded on Moslem ships, had now gone and instead skillful sailors were employed along with the fighters.

While in Qudāma's text it is stated that the entire crew and not simply the caulker should be able to do repair work (Hamidullah, 312; Khadivajum, 33), there is nothing about the participation of oarsmen and sailors in the actual fighting. The tenth century author Ibn al-Mammātī, in a brief but revealing passage, describes how in a Moslem warship *(shalandī)* the Moslem warriors were fighting from their deck under the sound of the oars, manned by oarsmen who had exclusively the duty of propelling their ship [103]. It seems, at least from the evidence which is now available, that in the Moslem fleets there was a strict division of duty between the fighters on the one hand, and the sailors and oarsmen on the other, without any combination of rowing and fighting, as presented in the Byzantine navy. Undoubtedly, more detailed information about this problem could be provided from the unpublished Arabic manuscripts describing naval tactics, about which again nothing is stated in Qudāma's text.

Though details are lacking, we can picture a naval battle between Byzantines and Moslems, based on all sources, as follows. The fighting starts before the ships come together with the launching of the "Greek fire" (see the akidographema, Fig. 30). Simultaneously, the other types of projectiles are launched. On coming closer the ram is used not to sink an enemy ship as in ancient times, but to damage it. Finally, if none of the ships involved are sunk or burnt, the marines engage in a sort of

102. Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, ed. Cairo, A. H. 1352, p. 143 - 144.
103. Ibn al-Mammātī, *Kitāb Qawānīn al-Dawāwīn*, ed. ʿAttiyah, Cairo 1934, p. 340.

land warfare with arrows, spears etc., ending in a hand to hand struggle, as is shown in Oppian's illumination (Fig. 1) and in an akidographema from Getakos' collection (Fig. 2).

In Leo's *Naumachica* there is no mention of Moslem naval tactics and the type of Moslem warfare, save for their practice of patiently sustaining the enemy's blows, pretending that they were exhausted before launching their attack (Dain, p. 22, paragr. 16).

In a passage of Nicephoros Ouranos' *Naumachica*, referring to naval tactics, it is suggested that the Byzantines should take in consideration the size and speed of their enemy ships.

Naumachica (Dain, p. 86 - 87, paragr. 70):

> Οὐ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχουσι στόλον οἱ Σαρακηνοί· ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ μπάδια μεγαλώτερα καὶ ἀργότερα· οἱ δὲ Ρῶσοι ἀκάτια μικρότερα καὶ ἐλαφρότερα καὶ γοργά·. . .

Translation:

> For the Saracens do not have the same navy; they also have (among their other types of ships) "μπάδια" ships, which are bigger and slower; on the other hand the Russians possess smaller, lighter and swift boats;. . .

This passage has often been misunderstood and considered to mean that the Moslems' ships were slower than those of the Byzantines. I believe that here Nicephoros Ouranos simply makes a distinction between certain types (but not all) of big Moslem ships (μπάδια) and Byzantine ships.

The problem of speed of Moslem and Byzantine warships is complex and cannot be determined. It is extremely difficult to calculate it and Eickhoff's calculations on this matter are superfluous [104]. Since the ships were propelled by oars and their speed varied according to the oarsmen's strength, it is impossible to define it. One thing is certain however that both Byzantine and the big Moslem ships moved slowly, and as Dolley spiritedly remarked, "Such ships were too heavy to allow of great speed, and were mainly formidable when grappled alongside equally clumsy opponents" [105].

104. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik*, p. 10.

105. Dolley, *The Warships of the Later Roman Empire*, p. 48. See also E. de Saint-Denis, *La vitesse des navires anciens*, Revue Archéologique 18 (July-Sept. 1941), p. 121 - 138; P. Gille, *Les navires à rames de l'antiquité*, Journal des Savants (Jan.-March 1965), p. 7 - 14.

The ships of the Moslem navy, in general, were of excellent construction and fully equipped. This was natural since Moslem cargo ships, daring to go as far as China and Vietnam, were equipped with all proper nautical instruments [106a]. They also had detailed sailing directories *(dāfātir)* and charts *(ṣuwar)*, and the Arab geographers often added maps in their geographical works (Fig. 29) [106b].

This comparison between Leo's *Naumachica* and Qudāma's text will end with a discussion of military intelligence, and the morale of the crews, two topics which are emphasized by both texts.

MORALE. MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

The *Naumachica* and Qudāma's document greatly emphasize the importance of the morale of the admiral and his crew. In general, morale has always been an important element in all warfare, and Byzantines and Moslems continuously tried to boost the spirit of their crews. When the Moslems of Crete ferociously attacked the Byzantine islands during Michael II's reign, the Byzantine sailors panicked and a great many of them deserted to the enemy. Their admiral, Nasar, restored morale and discipline by severely punishing the deserters; he even staged some executions of Byzantine sailors [107].

The Moslems knew well how to use psychological warfare. Before Leo of Tripoli attacked Thessaloniki (904), he paraded all his ships by the seacoast of Propontis, deliberately exhibiting his Sudanese soldiers to terrify the Byzantines. As a result, the commander of the Byzantine fleet, Himerios, quailed, not daring to attack Leo's fleet. Skylitzes states that in his decision Himerios considered not only the formidable number of the Moslem ships, but also the extremely high morale of the Moslem crews [108].

106a. J. Prinsep, *Note on the Nautical Instruments of the Arabs*, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Dec. 1836), p. 784 - 794; G. Ferrand, *Introduction à l'astronomie nautique arabe*, Paris 1928; S. S. Nadvi, *Arab Navigation*, Islamic Culture 15 (1941), p. 435 - 441. For the strength of the Moslem maritime trade in the Mediterranean in the ninth and tenth centuries see A. R. Lewis, *Mediterranean Maritime Commerce, A. D.* 300 - 1100. *Shipping and Trade*, in *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, XXV. *La navigazione mediterranea nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto 1978, p. 14 - 15.

106b. J. H. Kramers, *La question Balhī-Iṣṭahri — Ibn Ḥawkal et L'Atlas de l'Islam*, Acta Orientalia 10 (1932), p. 9 - 30.

107. Skylitzes, ed. Hans Thurn, Berlin 1963, p. 154.

108. Skylitzes, p. 183.

To boost morale, both Byzantines and Moslems paid special attention to maintain religious zeal. The most characteristic example which illustrates the religiosity on both sides is to be found in the battle of dhāt al-Ṣawārī. The Arabic sources describe how during the lull, before the fighting commenced, the Moslems spent the whole night reciting verses from the Qur'ān, while on the Byzantine side the bells *(al-nawaqīs)* rang incessantly[109]. Moslem religion promises ample reward for sea-fighters: he who perishes fighting at sea will receive double the reward offered to land-fighting soldiers in the afterlife[110].

Leo VI's *Naumachica*, in addition to the instructions for the selection of brave crews, mentions that before a fleet sails, the flags of the ships should be blessed and special services should be offered to God. Leo considers the religious zeal of an admiral to be his prime quality. Likewise, in Qudāma's text the Emir states explicitly that the admiral should be both *imām* (religious leader) and *mu'alim* (an expert) (Hamidullah, 312; Dain, p. 23, paragr. 24).

Byzantines and Moslems applied a very efficient detection-communication system and made ample use of spies. They both used to alert their naval centers immediately after enemy ships entered their waters. They used the same techniques, known of course to other peoples, as summarily described in *De cerimoniis* and in Muqaddasī's *Geography*. In *De cerimoniis* it is related how, when a Moslem ship was just entering Byzantine waters, a warning would be transmitted through an elaborate system of smoke signals during the day and beacons at night from the castle of Loulon, near Tarsos, as far as the naval vigilence center in Hagios Augentios. The whole operation of transmitting the message took no more than an hour[111]. Likewise, Muqqaddasī informs us that the same method was applied by the Moslems in their Syrian coastal towns Gaza, Ascalon and Jaffa with equal efficiency. In addition to the smoke and fire, the Moslems used, the beating of drums and the sound of trumpets[112]. As in modern warfare, different devices are used to escape the detective radar systems of the enemy, the Moslems often tried to confuse the Byzantine detection system by using fake attacks.

Military intelligence and counterintelligence were extensively used by both Byzantines and Moslems. The Byzantines used for this purpose a number of their bilingual citizens, speaking Arabic and Greek, who

109. Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, III, ed. Beirut, p. 58.
110. Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, II, ed. Krehl, Leyden 1864, p. 199 - 200.
111. *De cerimoniis*, ed. Bonn, p. 492.
112. See Fahmy, *Moslem Sea Power*, p. 55ff.

came from areas along the Arab-Byzantine frontier[113]. Some of them were sent to Arab ports as merchants and Ibn Ḥawqal (whose work was completed in 977) complains that such Byzantine merchants frequented Moslem Mediterranean ports and acted as informers[114]. When the Byzantines were preparing an expedition against Crete the *protospatharios* Leo prudently sent spies to the Syrian ports to investigate whether the Moslems were aware of his preparations[115]. On the other hand, the Moslems also used spies extensively. In the ninth and tenth centuries, a number of castles on the Aegean islands were captured by the Moslems with the assistance of Byzantine traitors, cooperating with Moslem scouts[116a].

Syrianos the Magister and Nicephoros Ouranos in their *Naumachica* offer specific advice concerning the use of spies (Dain, p. 47, paragr. 4; p. 94, paragr. 9)[116b]. In Qudāma's text the Emir seals his instructions by asking for vigilance concerning the activities of spies.

Arabic text (Hamidullah, p. 313; Khadivajum, p. 35):

وأمره بشدة الحذر من جواسيسه ...

Translation:

He (the Emir) has ordered the admiral to exercise utmost alertness over the spies. . .

It seems that the Byzantines used to send Arab speaking infiltrators to Moslem coast towns. Probably such infiltrators were sent to Damietta before the Byzantine raid of 857[117]. This is obviously one of the reasons that the Egyptian authorities issued and used passports, in order to control the movements of the inhabitants[118]. In Qudāma's text it is suggested that the gate-keepers of towns should guard against any infiltrators and make a thorough check of anybody wishing to enter (Hamidullah, p. 313; Khadivajum, p. 35).

113. V. Christides, *Arabic Influence on the Akritic Cycle*, Byzantion 49 (1979), p. 94 - 109; D. A. Miller, *The Logothete of the Drome*, Byzantion 36 (1966), p. 450 - 51.
114. Ibn Ḥawqal, *Al-Masālik w-al-mamālik*, I, ed. De Goeje, Leyden 1873, p. 197.
115. *De cerimoniis*, ed. Bonn, p. 657.
116a. See Appendix B.
116b. For the Byzantine spies see J. A. de Faucault, *Douze chapitres inédits de la Tactique de Nicéphore Ouranos*, Travaux et Mémoires 5 (1973), p. 287.
117. See above note 80.
118. For these passports, see Fahmy, *Moslem Sea Power in the Eastern Mediterranean*, p. 18.

To end this discussion one more point shoud be briefly mentioned; while the *Naumachica* has certain vague and incomplete references to theuse of "Greek fire", in Qudāma's text it is only mentioned that the naphtha-throwers were an important part of the crew (Hamidullah, p. 312;). Some other Arabic sources and a considerable number of unpublished Arabic manuscripts include important information on this topic.

Unfortunately, many modern scholars still fail to understand that the Moslems of the tenth century used the "Greek fire" with the same efficiency as the Byzantines did. A glaring example of ignorance of Arabic sources is to be found in a recent article written by J. Haldon and M. Byrne [119]. These authors, who succeeded in their attempt to offer a comprehensive solution to "Greek fire", reject its efficient use by the Moslems. They argue that the Byzantine sources speak only about its successful use by the Byzantines. However, in an identical but opposite way the Arabic sources of the tenth century speak solely about Moslem success in desctructively using the "Greek fire" [120]. Suffice it to say here that acconding to Ibn Taghrī-Birdī, 1/5 of the expenses of the Egyptian navy at the time of the Caliph Muʿtaḍīt (892-902) went to the use of "Greek fire" [121].

To sum up briefly, Byzantine and Moslem naval preparedness in the tenth century was on almost equal footing — there was no technological gap between the two powers. In the middle of this century, the Moslem fleets fell into a rapid decline because of the disintegration of the Moslem states, save that of the Fāṭimids, whose power was in any case limited. On the other hand, by the turn of the eleventh century the Byzantine navy was also becoming less effective, since Venice and other naval powers were gaining the upper hand in the Mediterranean. A new chapter of naval history was opening with new protagonists [122].

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119. J. Haldon and M. Byrne, *A Possible Solution to the Problem of Greek Fire* BZ 70 (1977), p. 91 - 99.

120. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Andalusians* (*ca.* 824 - 961), Appendix II.

121. Ibn Tagrī-Birdī, *Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, III, ed. Cairo, n. d., p. 97.

122. A recent article has just come to my attention, C. M. Mazzucchi's *Dagli anni di Basilio Parakimomenos* (Cod. Amb. B119 sup.), Aevum 52 (1978), p. 266 - 316, where there are important discussions about Basil Lacapenus' personality to whom Basil's *Naumachica* was dedicated (see also A. Markopoulos, *Ἰωσήφ Βρίγγας*, Σύμμεικτα 4 (1981), p. 97). In this article there are also discussions about the date of Mavricius' *Strategicon*, Leo VI's *Naumachica* a.o. Some information about the *Naumachica* can be also found in G. T. Dennis's *Flies, Mice, and the Byzantine Crossbow*, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 7 (1981), p. 4.

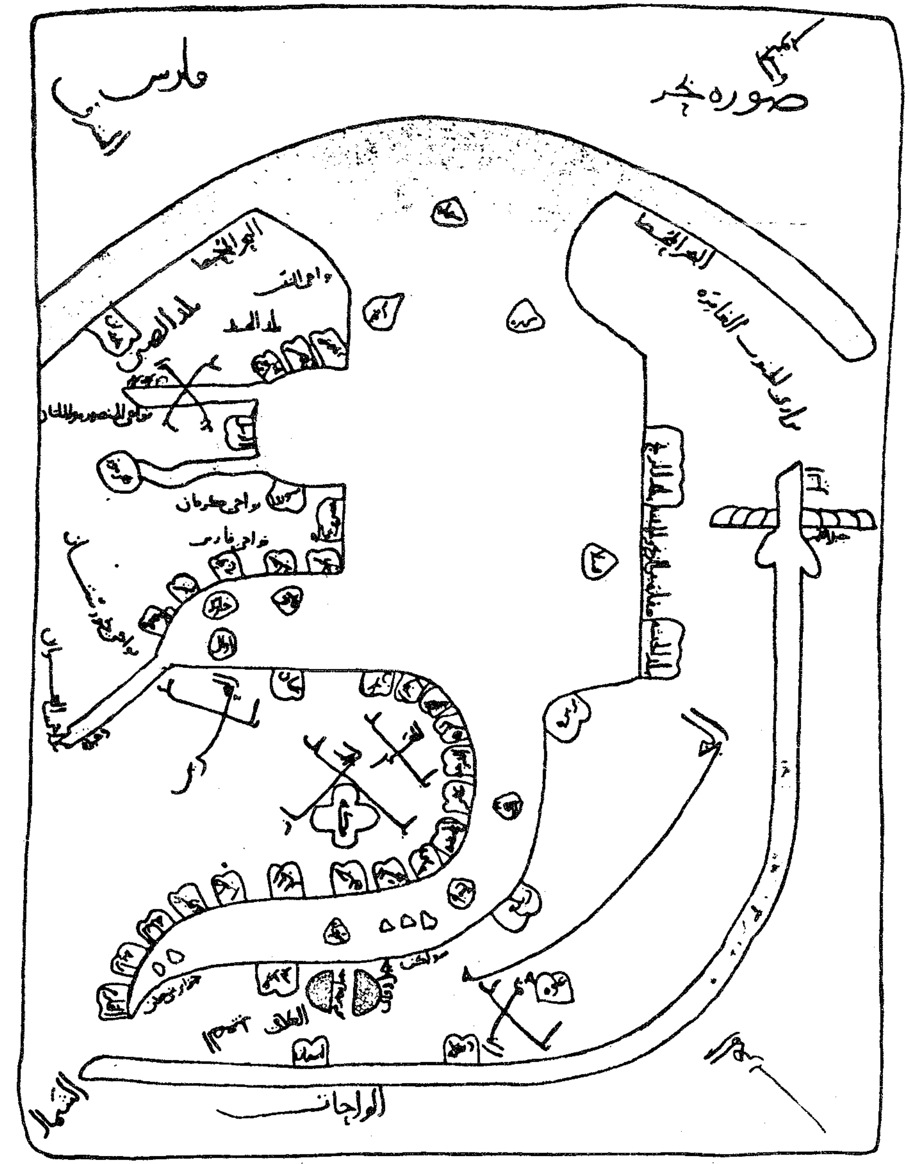


Fig. 29. Ibn Ḥawqal's map of the Persian Sea. (*Ibn Hauqal, Configuration de la Terre*, ed. and trans. J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet, Beirut and Paris 1964.

APPENDIX A

COMMON GREEK AND ARABIC NAUTICAL TERMS

The interrelationship of Greek and Arabic nautical terms is of great interest and has not yet been studied, save for a short, far from complete account by H. Antoniadis-Bibicou (*Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance*, Paris 1966, 165 - 177). A full examination of each term cannot be undertaken here.* Some of these terms present complex problems. Thus, the Greek words καλαφατίζω, καλαφάτης (to caulk a ship, caulker) are loanwords from the Arabic *qalafa* (= to caulk a ship). These words were not introduced into Greek from the eleventh century, as asserted by Antoniadis-Bibicou, but they were already in use in the sixth century, as a Greek papyrus from the Syene records informs us (Antoniadis-Bibicou, 165 - 66; H. R. Kahane and A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant*, Urbana, 1958, no. 775 - 776, p. 513 - 517). Moreover, Kahane's and Tietze's view that the Byzantines did not borrow these words from the Arabs, because Arabic influence on Byzantine nautical terminology is improbable, cannot be applied to this particular case (Kahane and Tietze no. 775, p. 514). The terms καλαφατίζω, καλαφάτης must have been abundant on the eve of the Arab conquest. The paucity of Greek papyri at this period deprives us of any direct evidence, but the abundance of these words in the Greek papyri of the early Arab period in Egypt amply illustrate their early use (H. I. Bell *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, IV, London, 1910, xxxii - xxxv).

The majority of the nautical terms are included in Kahane's and Tietze's above mentioned Dictionary as my references show. The terms which are not included in this dictionary are indicated by an asterisk.

* A detailed glossary of the interrelated nautical Greek and Arabic terms is in preparation by the present author.

GREEK	ARABIC	ORIGIN	MEANING
σαβούρα (Kahane and Tietze, No. 837)	sāburah	Byzantine Greek	ballast
σανδάλιον (Kahane and Tietze, No. 839)	sāndal, sāndāl	Byzantine Greek	type of boat
*στόλος	ustūl	Ancient Greek	navy
στυππεῖον (Kahane and Tietze, No. 852)	usṭub	Ancient Greek	hemp, oakum
*χελάνδιον	shalandī since the 10th century	Byzantine Greek	type of warship

GREEK	ARABIC	ORIGIN	MEANING
ἀβαρία (Kahare and Tietze, No. 49)	ʿawāriyah	Arabic through Italian since the 12th century	damage
*ἀστρολάβος, ἀστρολάβιον, etc.	aṣtralāb etc.	Ancient Greek	astrolab
*γόμος	ghamr	Ancient Greek	cargo
γούμενα (since the 16th century) (Kahane and Tietze, No. 332)	ghumanah	Arabic (juml, jummal) Hellenistic Greek (κάμιλος)	shiprope, cable
καλαφατίζω (see introduction)			

GREEK	ARABIC	ORIGIN	MEANING
κάραβος (Kahane and Tietze, No. 780)	qārib since the 7th century	Ancient Greek (=stag beetle, crayfish) Byzantine Greek	type of ship
*κουμβάριον		There is no Arabic term *kubār* with the meaning of a "big ship" in Arabic as asserted by Ph. Koukoules (ΕΕΒΣ 21 (1951), p. 22). Instead I believe that this word comes from the Arabic adjective *kabīr* (pl. *kubār*) in combination with the word *markab* (= ship).	Type of Byzantine freighter. Name used by the Byzantines for a type of Moslem ships.
λιμήν, λιμένιον, etc. (Kahane and Tietze, No. 801)	mīnā' etc.	Ancient Greek	harbor

GREEK	ARABIC	ORIGIN	MEANING
*μάγγανον	manjanūn	Ancient Greek	war machine
*μπάδια	bādī = ? clear, evident	Arabic or Greek This word as far as I know is a *hapax legomenon* (Dain, *Naumachica* p. 87), perhaps from the Greek word ἐμβάδιον = little slipper.	big Moslem warships
ναύτης (Kahane and Tietze, No. 817)	*nūtī* since the 10th century	Ancient Greek	sailor
ναῦλον (Kahane and Tietze, No. 443)	*nālūm* etc.	Ancient Greek	fare, freight
οἴαξ, οἰάκιον (Kahane and Tietze, No. 822)	*yakah* etc.	Ancient Greek	tiller, rudder

APPENDIX B

Sack of Fortresses by Treason

Precautions for the activities of Byzantine traitors are mentioned in Mauricius' *Strategicon* (ed. G. Dennis, Vienna 1981, p. 276 (=VIII, 1, 110): «Τοῖς ὑποπτευομένοις προδόταις τἀναντία, ὧν βουλόμεθα, ῥητέον, ὥστε δι' αὐτῶν ἐξαπατᾶσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν ἀνοχῶν ἤτοι πρόσκαιρον εἰρήνην ἐπιβουλαὶ φυλακτέον...». (See also idem, p. 98 (=I, 7, 15).

Nevertheless, we must be very cautious about the veracity of a great number of Greek tales which describe the conquest of historical fortresses by treason. St. Imellos in his article *Éléments légendaires dans les récits concernant les lieux fortifiés* (Bulletin 35 (1980), p. 60-75) correctly points out that many of these legends are fictitious and present the same typical and widely spread folk motives. But, this author somehow underestimates the actual capture of fortresses by treason, since, as we have seen, spies and counter spies abounded in both Byzantine and Arab armies.

The best known example of a historical fortress captured by treason is that of the town Amorion, captured by Muʿtaṣem in 838. Enriched with many folkloristic elements, the Greek folk song, known as "Τὸ κάστρο τῆς 'Ωριᾶς" or "Μαριοῦς", vaguely echoes this historical event. Regarding the composition of this song, Ch. Mitsakis wrongly asserts that if this song refers to the capture of Amorion, "the original song must have been an Arabic composition that was taken over later by the Greek population of Cappadocia" (Ch. Mitsakis, *Castles and towers in Early Modern Greek Poetry*, Bulletin 35 (1980), p. 61). It is beyond any doubt that there is no such Arabic composition. Instead, the Arabic historical sources simply refer to the same event, confirming the capture of Amorion by treason. A thorough discussion of the capture of Amorion is still a desideratum and it should include, in addition to the historical Arabic sources, the poems of the contemporary Arabs Abū Tamām and Bukhtūri. (G. Veloudis'article, *Das Armurislied und Omar al Aqta* BZ 58 (1965), p. 313 ff., makes little use of these sources).

Special mention should be made here of the fortresses of ports. Because of the Arab raids in the Mediterranean in the 9th and 10th centuries, the Byzantines constructed a number of coastal fortresses in the Aegean, similar to the land fortresses known as "φακτωρίαι", in order to defend the ports against the raids of the Moslems. (H. Ahrweiler, *La frontière et les frontières de Byzance*, in Actes du XIVe Congrès intern. d'ét. byz. 1971, Bucharest 1974, p. 222 (= *Byzance, les pays et les territoires*, Variorum Reprints, London 1976, no. III). Such coastal fortresses could sufficiently defend the ports against attacks of small fleets, but were unable to resist attacks by strong fleets. Ahrweiler correctly states that "la securité de la frontière maritime dependait plus du contrôle des voies maritimes que du littoral". (See also by the same author, *Les ports byzantins* (VIIe - IXe siècles), Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 25 (1978), p. 272 (*La navigazione mediterranea nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto 14 - 20 April 1977).

Similarly, the Moslem coastal towns in spite of their fortifications could fall easy prey to the attacks of strong Byzantine fleets. Thus, in addition to the above-mentioned attacks by the Byzantines on Damietta, in the early tenth century, the Byzantine fleet attacked the port of Jaffa in Palestine and abducted, among others, Hārūn bn. Yaḥya, who left an account of his adventure preserved by Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-'Alaq al-Nafīsa*, ed. De Goeje, Leiden 1892, p. 119; cf. A. Vasiliev, *Hārūn bn. Yaḥya and his Description of Constantinople*, Seminarium Kondakovianum 5 (1932), p. 154.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Στὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ 10ου αἰώνα γράφτηκαν δύο ναυτικὰ ἐγχειρίδια ποὺ προσφέρουν συγκεκριμένες ὁδηγίες στοὺς ναυάρχους γιὰ τὴν πολεμικὴ ἑτοιμότητα τῶν στόλων τους. Πρόκειται γιὰ τὰ *Ναυμαχικὰ* τοῦ Λέοντος ΣΤ' τοῦ Σοφοῦ καὶ γιὰ ἕνα σύντομο ναυτικὸ ἔγγραφο ἄγνωστου χαλίφη τοῦ 10ου αἰώνα, τὸ ὁποῖο ἐνσωματώθηκε στὸ ἔργο *Kitāb al-Kharāj* τοῦ Ἄραβα συγγραφέα Qudāma bn. Ja'far. Ὁ Qudāma ἦταν ἀνώτατος δημόσιος ὑπάλληλος στὴν οἰκονομικὴ ὑπηρεσία τῆς Βαγδάτης καὶ δὲν ὑπάρχει καμιὰ ἀμφιβολία γιὰ τὴν αὐθεντικότητα τοῦ ἐγγράφου του. Τὸ ἔγγραφο δὲν συμπεριλήφθηκε στὴ μερικὴ ἔκδοση τοῦ *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, ἡ ὁποία ἔγινε ἀπὸ τὸν M. J. de Goeje (1889) βασισμένη σ' ἕνα μοναδικὸ χειρόγραφο τῆς Κωνσταντινούπολης. Ἐκδόθηκε ξεχωριστὰ τὸ 1961 ἀπὸ τὸν M. Hamidullah μὲ ἀγγλικὴ μετάφραση. Ἐλάχιστα γνωστή, ἀλλὰ περισσότερο ἀκριβής, εἶναι ἡ ἔκδοση τοῦ *Kitāb al-Kharāj* ἀπὸ τὸν H. Khadivajum (Τεχεράνη, 1870), τὴν ὁποία ὁ Hamidullah ἀγνοεῖ.

Στὴν παρούσα μελέτη διορθώνονται καὶ συμπληρώνονται ὁρισμένα χωρία τῆς μετάφρασης τοῦ Hamidullah, σὲ συνδυασμὸ καὶ μὲ τὴν ἔκδοση τοῦ Khadivajum.

Στὰ δύο ναυτικὰ ἐγχειρίδια ποὺ προαναφέρθηκαν δὲν ὑπάρχει καμιὰ ἀλληλεπίδραση· παρουσιάζονται ὅμως ἐνδιαφέρουσες ὁμοιότητες, ἐπειδὴ καὶ στὰ δύο ἀντικατοπτρίζεται ἡ ναυτικὴ πολεμικὴ τακτικὴ τῶν Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Ἀράβων στὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ 10ου αἰώνα, ποὺ σημαδεύει τὸ κορύφωμα τῆς ἀκμῆς τῶν ναυτικῶν στόλων καὶ στοὺς δύο κόσμους.

Τὰ κοινὰ σημεῖα τῶν δύο κειμένων ἐξετάζονται ἀπὸ τὸν συγγραφέα αὐτῆς τῆς μελέτης σὲ σύγκριση καὶ μὲ τὶς πληροφορίες ἄλλων πηγῶν — ἀραβικῶν καὶ βυζαντινῶν — καθὼς καὶ μὲ τὴ σχετικὴ εἰκονογραφία, μὲ στόχο νὰ ἐρευνηθοῦν συστηματικὰ ὁρισμένα γενικότερα προβλήματα ποὺ ἀναφέρονται στὴν ναυτικὴ ἑτοιμότητα τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ καὶ ἀραβικοῦ στόλου τὸν 10ο αἰώνα.

Ἐπίβλεψη κατασκευῆς πλοίων. Ὑλικὰ

Στὰ δύο ἐγχειρίδια τονίζεται ὅτι τὰ καθήκοντα τῶν ναυάρχων καθορίζονται πρὶν ἀκόμη ἀναλάβουν πολεμικὴ δράση τὰ πλοῖα τους. Ἡ ἐπιλογὴ τῶν καταλληλότερων ὑλικῶν γίνεται ἀπὸ τοὺς ἴδιους τοὺς ναυάρχους καθὼς καὶ ἡ ἐπίβλεψη τῆς κατασκευῆς τους.

῾Ο συγγραφέας, βασισμένος στὶς παράλληλες πληροφορίες τῶν ᾿Αράβων συγγραφέων Ibn al Mammātī (12ος αἰ.), Ibn Mājid (15ος αἰ.) καὶ ὁρισμένων ἀνεκδότων ἀραβικῶν χειρογράφων, καταλήγει στὸ συμπέρασμα ὅτι ἡ τελικὴ ἧττα τῶν Μουσουλμάνων στὴ θάλασσα δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ ἀποδοθεῖ στὴν κακὴ ποιότητα τῆς κατασκευῆς τῶν πλοίων τους, ὅπως ὑποστηριζόταν ὡς τώρα ἀπὸ τοὺς E. Eickhoff (*Seekrieg und Seepolitik*, σελ. 155 - 56) καὶ M. Lombard (*Arsenaux et bois de marine*, σελ. 107 κ.ἑ.).

῾Η στρατολόγηση τῶν Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μουσουλμάνων ναυτῶν τοῦ στόλου

Πολλὲς παρανοήσεις ἔχουν δημιουργηθεῖ σχετικὰ μὲ τὴ στρατολόγηση καὶ τὴν ἱκανότητα τῶν Βυζαντινῶν καὶ ᾿Αράβων ναυτῶν τῶν στόλων.

Τὸ ἀραβικὸ ναυτικὸ ἐγχειρίδιο ρίχνει ἀρκετὸ φῶς στὸ πρόβλημα τῆς στρατολόγησης τῶν Μουσουλμάνων ναυτῶν κατὰ τὸν 10ο αἰώνα. ᾿Ενῶ ἡ στρατολόγηση τῶν ναυτῶν, ὅπως μᾶς πληροφοροῦν οἱ ἀραβικοὶ καὶ ἑλληνικοὶ πάπυροι τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἦταν ἀναγκαστική, στὴν οὐσία ἐπρόκειτο γιὰ μιὰ ἔμμεση μορφὴ φορολογίας, ἂν ληφθεῖ ὑπόψη ὅτι ἡ προσωπικὴ ὑπηρεσία μποροῦσε νὰ ἀντικατασταθεῖ μὲ ὁρισμένο χρηματικὸ ποσό. Μὲ τὰ χρήματα τῶν φόρων αὐτῶν, εἰδικὰ τὸν 9ο καὶ 10ο αἰώνα, ὅπως μᾶς πληροφορεῖ — ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὸ ἀραβικὸ ἐγχειρίδιο ποὺ προαναφέραμε — ὁ Maqrīzī, γινόταν ἡ ἐπιλογὴ τῶν ἀρίστων, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἔπρεπε νὰ διαθέτουν ἄψογο χαρακτῆρα, θάρρος καὶ τεχνικὴ κατάρτιση. ῾Η ἐπιλογὴ βέβαια γινόταν ὕστερα ἀπὸ συστηματικὸ ἔλεγχο.

Στὸ Βυζάντιο ἡ ἀναγκαστικὴ στρατολόγηση ἐφαρμοζόταν στὰ ναυτικὰ θέματα μόνο στοὺς εὐπόρους, στοὺς ὁποίους πιθανῶς νὰ παραχωροῦντο γαῖες ἀπὸ τὸν 9ο αἰώνα (Αἰκ. Χριστοφιλοπούλου, *῾Η οἰκονομικὴ καὶ δημοσιονομικὴ πολιτικὴ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορα Νικηφόρου Α΄*, σελ. 417 κ.ἑ.). Στὰ *Ναυμαχικὰ* τοῦ Λέοντα ΣΤ΄ γίνεται λόγος γιὰ τὴν ἰδιαίτερη φροντίδα τῶν Βυζαντινῶν στὴ στρατολόγηση τῶν πιὸ κατάλληλων γιὰ τὰ πληρώματα τῶν πλοίων.

Καθήκοντα τῶν ναυτῶν καὶ πολεμιστῶν

Στὰ *Ναυμαχικὰ* τοῦ Λέοντα ΣΤ΄ καὶ τοῦ πατρικίου Βασιλείου Λακαπηνοῦ ἀναφέρεται ὅτι οἱ ἐρέτες τοῦ ἄνω διαζώματος ἦταν ταυτόχρονα καὶ πολεμιστές, ἐνῶ σὲ ὁρισμένες περιστάσεις ἀκόμη καὶ οἱ ὑπόλοιποι ἐρέτες μεταβάλλονταν σὲ μαχητές.

Στὸ ναυτικὸ ὁδηγὸ τοῦ Qudāma ὑπάρχει ἀντίθετα σαφὴς διαχωρισμὸς ἀνάμεσα στοὺς πεζοναῦτες (*al-jund*), στοὺς ἐρέτες (*al-qadhdhāfīn*) καὶ στοὺς ναῦτες (*al-nawātiyah*). Αὐτὸς ὁ διαχωρισμὸς εἶναι πιὸ εὐδιάκριτος στὸ ἔργο τοῦ Ibn al-Mammātī (*Kitāb Qawānīn al-Dawāwīn*, σελ. 340).

Τεχνικὸς ἐξοπλισμὸς

Τὰ *Ναυμαχικὰ* καὶ ὁ «῾Οδηγὸς» τοῦ Qudāma, συμπληρωμένος καὶ ἀπὸ τὶς ἄλλες ἀραβικὲς πηγές, ἀποκαλύπτουν ὅτι τὸ βυζαντινὸ καὶ ἀραβικὸ ναυτικὸ

βρίσκονταν στὸ ἴδιο περίπου ἐπίπεδο ἀπὸ ἄποψη τεχνικοῦ ἐξοπλισμοῦ καὶ πολεμικῶν ὅπλων.

῾Ο συγγραφέας αὐτῆς τῆς μελέτης, μὲ βάση τὶς φιλολογικὲς πηγὲς καὶ τὴ σχετικὴ εἰκονογραφία προσφέρει νέα στοιχεῖα στὴν ἔρευνα τοῦ προβλήματος τῆς ἀνακάλυψης τοῦ ὀπισθίου μοναδικοῦ πηδαλίου τῶν πλοίων, τὸ ὁποῖο διαδραμάτισε μεγάλο ρόλο στὴν ταχύτητα καὶ εὐελιξία τῶν πολεμικῶν πλοίων τῶν Βυζαντινῶν καὶ τῶν ᾿Αράβων.

Τέλος πρέπει νὰ ἀναφερθεῖ ὅτι ἐσφαλμένα ὑποστηρίζεται σὲ πρόσφατο ἄρθρο τῶν J. Haldon καὶ M. Byrne (*A Possible Solution to the Problem of Greek fire*, σελ. 93 κ.ἑ.) ὅτι οἱ ῎Αραβες δὲν χρησιμοποιοῦσαν τὸ «ὑγρὸν πῦρ» τὸν 10ο αἰώνα. ῾Ο Ibn Taghrī-Birdī ἀναφέρει ὅτι στὴν βασιλεία τοῦ χαλίφη Mu'taḏīd (892 - 902) τὸ 1/5 τῶν ἐξόδων τοῦ μουσουλμανικοῦ ναυτικοῦ προοριζόταν γιὰ ἔξοδα σχετικὰ μὲ τὸ «ὑγρὸν πῦρ».

Β. ΧΡΗΣΤΙΔΗΣ
Πανεπιστήμιο ᾿Αθηνῶν

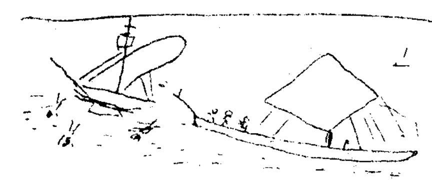


Fig. 30. An akidographema showing the launching of "Greek fire". Meinardus'collection, Fig. I, 1.

Ο ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ *ΣΥΝΤΙΠΑΣ*: ΓΙΑ ΜΙΑ ΝΕΑ ΕΚΔΟΣΗ*

1. Μὲ τὸν ὅρο *Συντίπας* ἀναφερόμαστε στὸ σύνολο τῆς ἑλληνικῆς παράδοσης τῆς συλλογῆς ἱστοριῶν ποὺ εἶναι γνωστὴ ὡς *Βιβλίο τοῦ Σιντμπὰντ* (*Sindbad/Syntipas*, ἤ: *Σιντμπὰντ ὁ Φιλόσοφος*, *῾Εφτὰ Σοφοὶ* κ.ἄ.)[1].

Τὸ περιεχόμενο, ἡ δημιουργία, ἡ προέλευση καὶ ἡ διάδοση τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ *Βιβλίου τοῦ Σιντμπὰντ* καὶ τῶν παραγώγων του ἀπασχόλησαν, ἀπὸ τὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ 19. αἰ. ὡς σήμερα, τοὺς ἀνατολιστές, τοὺς λαογράφους καὶ μελετητὲς τῶν λαϊκῶν διηγήσεων, καὶ τοὺς φιλολογικοὺς ἐκδότες καὶ ἐρευνητὲς πολλῶν εὐρωπαϊκῶν καὶ ἀσιατικῶν γραμματειῶν. Περιορίζομαι ἐδῶ σὲ πολὺ σύντομη ἐπισκόπηση ὁρισμένων ἀπὸ τὰ κεντρικὰ ἐρευνητικὰ ζητήματα ποὺ σχετίζονται μὲ τὸ ἔργο:

*᾿Αναχωνεύω ἐδῶ, τροποποιώντας καὶ συμπληρώνοντας, τὴν ἀνακοίνωσή μου στὸ ΙΕ' Διεθνὲς Συνέδριο Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν (᾿Αθήνα, Σεπτ. 1976) «Παρατηρήσεις στὸν *Συντίπα*», τῆς ὁποίας ἔχει δημοσιευτεῖ, γιὰ τὴν ὥρα, μόνον ἡ περίληψη (*Résumés des communications*, ᾿Αθ. 1976).

Πρέπει νὰ εὐχαριστήσω ἰδιαίτερα τὸν καθηγ. Ι. - Θ. Παπαδημητρίου, στὸν ὁποῖο κυρίως ὀφείλω τὴ γνωριμία μου μὲ τὸν *Συντίπα* καὶ τὰ προβλήματά του, καθὼς καὶ πρόθυμη βοήθεια στὶς ἀναζητήσεις μου. Τὸν καθηγ. Ν.Μ. Παναγιωτάκη γιὰ χρήσιμες ὑποδείξεις του, ἀλλὰ καὶ γιὰ τὴν ἐνθάρρυνση στὴ διερεύνησή μου καὶ τὸ ζωηρὸ ἐνδιαφέρον ποὺ δείχνει πάντοτε γιὰ τὴ δουλειά μου. Τοὺς συναδέλφους καὶ φίλους Λιζιάνα Δελβερούδη, Arnold van Gemert, Σόνια ᾿Ιλίνσκαγια, Γιάννη Καζάζη, Σπύρο Ράση, Φωτεινὴ Τασιοῦ γιὰ τὴν ἀνεκτίμητη βιβλιογραφικὴ καὶ πρακτική τους συνδρομή.

1. Περιορίζομαι στὶς γενικὲς βιβλιογραφικὲς ἐπισκοπήσεις καὶ τὶς κύριες νεότερες ἐργασίες, ὅπου καὶ ἡ παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία: K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, München [2] 1897, σ. 891 - 5· V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes, publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885*, τ. 8: *Syntipas*, Liège-Leipzig 1904· A. Hausrath, «Syntipas», *Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Mittelhaus, Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2, IV, 2, Stuttgart 1932, στ. 1464 - 9· B. E. Perry, «The Origin of the Book of Sindbad», *Fabula* 3 (1959) 1 - 94, καὶ χωριστά, Berlin 1960· H. S. Upadhyaga, «Indic Background of the *Book of Sindbad*», *Asian Folklore Studies* 17 (1968) 101 - 29· H. Schwarzbaum, *Studies in Jewish and World Folklore*, Berlin 1968, σ. 397 - 8· H. - G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur*, München 1971, σ. 45 - 8· *Kindlers Literatur-Lexikon*, «Sindbād-nāme», τ. 10, Zürich 1973, σ. 8738 - 45· D. Bogdanović, *Zaḥiri de Samarkand, Le Livre des sept vizirs. Sendbâdnameh*, Paris 1975, σ. 277 - 90.

῾Η συλλογὴ ἀποτελεῖ συνδυασμὸ μιᾶς «διήγησης-πλαισίου» καὶ «ἐγκιβωτισμένων» σ' αὐτὴν ἱστοριῶν, μὲ τὴ γνωστὴ καὶ ἀπὸ ἄλλες συλλογὲς ἀφηγηματικοῦ ὑλικοῦ μορφὴ τῆς «συρταρωτῆς ἀφήγησης». ῾Η ἀφετηριακὴ «διήγηση-πλαίσιο» ἀνήκει στὸν τύπο τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς Γυναίκας τοῦ Πετεφρῆ καὶ τοῦ ᾿Ιωσήφ, ἢ τῆς Φαίδρας καὶ τοῦ ῾Ιππόλυτου κ.ο.κ., καὶ ἡ ἐξέλιξη τῆς πλοκῆς ἐμφανίζει μοτίβα γνώριμα καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορία τῆς ᾿Εσθήρ: στὴ «διήγηση-πλαίσιο» ἀγκιστρώνεται, ἐπίσης, μιὰ διπλὴ σειρὰ ἱστοριῶν, μὲ ἐπίκεντρο ἀφενὸς τὴν πονηρία καὶ κακία τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀφετέρου τὸ ἀναξιόπιστο καὶ ἐπικίνδυνο τῶν βασιλικῶν συμβούλων.

῾Ο τρόπος δημιουργίας τῆς συλλογῆς, καθὼς καὶ ὁ χῶρος καὶ χρόνος σύνθεσης τοῦ πρωτοτύπου, ὁδήγησαν σὲ μακροχρόνια καὶ ὀγκώδη ἐρευνητικὴ προεργασία, ποὺ ἔχει διαμορφώσει σήμερα δύο κύριες, διαφορετικὲς ἀπόψεις: (1) Τὰ παλαιότερα πορίσματα τῆς «ἀνατολικῆς» θεωρίας καὶ οἱ περισσότερες νεότερες «ἱστορικογεωγραφικὲς» συγκριτικὲς παρατηρήσεις γιὰ τὴ «διήγηση-πλαίσιο» καὶ τὶς μεμονωμένες «ἐγκιβωτισμένες ἱστορίες» συγκλίνουν στὸ συμπέρασμα ὅτι τὸ πρωτότυπο ἔχει ἰνδική, σανσκριτικὴ προέλευση[2]. (2) Οἱ σχετικὰ πρόσφατες παρατηρήσεις τοῦ B.E. Perry γιὰ τὴ σημασία τῆς προϊσλαμικῆς καὶ πρωτοϊσλαμικῆς «᾿Εγγὺς ᾿Ανατολῆς» στὴ διατήρηση, ἀνακατάταξη καὶ νέα σύνθεση ἀφηγηματικῶν, μυθογραφικῶν καὶ μυθιστορικῶν ἔργων συγκλίνουν στὸ συμπέρασμα ὅτι τὸ πρωτότυπο ἔχει περσική, παχλεβικὴ προέλευση[3]. ῾Η ἀντιπαράθεση τῶν δύο αὐτῶν ἀπόψεων βρίσκεται ἀκόμα στὰ πρῶτα στάδια, ἀποτελεῖ εὐρύτερο ζήτημα, καὶ δὲν εἶναι δυνατὸ νὰ συζητηθεῖ ἐδῶ ἀναλυτικότερα.

῾Οπωσδήποτε, εἶναι μᾶλλον βέβαιο ὅτι ἡ παράδοση τοῦ ἔργου συντελεῖται μέσω τοῦ ἰσλαμικοῦ περσικοῦ χώρου. Οἱ συγκεκριμένες μνεῖες ἀρχίζουν ἀπὸ τὰ τέλη τοῦ 8. - ἀρχὲς τοῦ 9. αἰ., ὁπότε ὁ Mūsā b. 'Isā al-Kisrāwī μεταφράζει στὰ ἀραβικὰ (ἴσως μὲ τὸν τίτλο *Kitāb Sindbād*) ἕνα μεσοπερσικὸ *Βιβλίο τοῦ Σιντμπάντ*. ᾿Απὸ τὸ τελευταῖο προέρχεται ἴσως καὶ τὸ πεζὸ νεοπερσικὸ *Sindbād-nāme* τοῦ 'Amid o'd-Din Abo'l-Fawāres Qanārezi (950-1), πηγή, μὲ τὴ σειρά του, γιὰ τὸ μεταγενέστερο ἔμμετρο

2. Τὴν παλαιότερη σχετικὴ βιβλιογραφία συνοψίζουν οἱ μονογραφίες τῶν D. Comparetti, *Ricerche intorno al Libro di Sindibâd*, Milano 1869, *Researches respecting the Book of Sindibad*, London 1882, S. J. Warren, *Het Indische Origineel van den Griekschen Syntipas*, Amsterdam 1903, καὶ ἡ ἀναλυτικὴ βιβλιογραφία τοῦ Chauvin, ὅ.π., σημ. 1. Οἱ νεότερες ἀπόψεις ἀναπτύσσονται ἢ σχολιάζονται κυρίως στὶς ἐργασίες τῶν P. A. Grintser, *Drevneindijskaja proza* (*Obramlennaja povest'*), Moskva 1963, σ. 193 κ.ἑ., καὶ Upadhyaga, ὅ.π, σημ. 1.

3. Οἱ ἀπόψεις τοῦ Perry διατυπώνονται ἤδη σὲ παλαιότερα δημοσιεύματά του (βλ. τὴν καταγραφὴ τοῦ I. - Θ. Παπαδημητρίου, «Ben Edwin Perry (21 Φεβρουαρίου 1892 - 1 Νοεμβρίου 1968)», *᾿Αθηνᾶ* 70 (1968) 325 - 30), κορυφώνεται ὅμως στὴ μονογραφία τοῦ 1959 - 60, ὅ.π., σημ. 1.

ἰρανικὸ-νεοπερσικὸ *Sindbād-nāme* τοῦ Azraqi (11.αἰ.). Ὅλα τὰ παραπάνω ἔργα εἶναι, πάντως, γνωστὰ μόνο ἀπὸ μαρτυρίες.

Τὸ χαμένο νεοπερσικὸ ἔργο τοῦ Qanarezi εἶναι τὸ πρότυπο γιὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότερη ἰρανικὴ-νεοπερσικὴ συλλογὴ ποὺ ἔχει διασωθεῖ, τὸ *Sindbād-nāme* τοῦ Moḥammad Ẓahir (Kāteb) Samarqandi (1150-1), κείμενο πεζὸ μὲ ἔνθετα ἔμμετρα τμήματα. ῾Η νεότερη τύχη τοῦ ἔργου στὴν περσικὴ λογοτεχνία εἶναι πλούσια, εἴτε σὲ ἔργα αὐτόνομα (ὅπως μιὰ ἀνώνυμη ἔμμετρη διήγηση του 1375-6) εἴτε σὲ μιμήσεις (ὅπως τὸ ἀνώνυμο *Baḫtyār-nāme* ἢ *Δέκα Βεζίρηδες* τοῦ 1296) καὶ διηγήσεις ἐνταγμένες σὲ ἄλλους ἀφηγηματικοὺς κύκλους (ὅπως τὸ ἔργο τοῦ Ḍiya' o'd-Din Naḫšabi *Ṭuṭi-nāme* ἢ *Βιβλίο τοῦ Παπαγάλου*, πρὶν ἀπὸ τὸ 1330).

Τὸ χαμένο ἀραβικὸ ἔργο τοῦ Mūsā al-Kisrāwī πρέπει νὰ εἶναι τὸ ἀπώτερο πρότυπο γιὰ τὶς σχετικὲς μὲ τὸ *Βιβλίο τοῦ Σιντμπάντ* διηγήσεις ποὺ ἐντάχθηκαν στὶς ποικίλες μορφὲς τῆς ἀραβικῆς συλλογῆς *Alf laila wa-laila* ἢ *Χίλιες καὶ Μία Νύχτες* (μὲ τὸν γενικὸ τίτλο *῾Εφτὰ Βεζίρηδες*), ἀλλὰ καὶ γιὰ τὶς ὑπόλοιπες αὐτόνομες «ἀνατολικὲς» συντάξεις τοῦ *Βιβλίου τοῦ Σιντμπάντ* ποὺ ἔχουν σωθεῖ, ἤτοι:

τὴ συριακὴ (*Taš'īṭā ḏ-Sendbān ḥakkīmā waḏ-pīllo*[*sōpē*] *ḏ-'ammeh* ἢ *῾Ιστορία τοῦ σοφοῦ Σεντμπὰν καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων ποὺ ἦταν μαζί του*, μετάφραση ἀπὸ τὰ ἀραβικά, πιθανότατα πρὶν ἀπὸ τὰ τέλη τοῦ 11. αἰ.)·

τὴν ἑλληνικὴ (*Βίβλος Συντίπα τοῦ Φιλοσόφου*, μετάφραση ἀπὸ τὰ συριακά, μεταξὺ 1086 καὶ 1100)·

τὴν ἑβραϊκὴ (*Mishlé Sendebar* ἢ *Παραβολὲς τοῦ Σεντεμπάρ*, μετάφραση ἀπὸ τὰ ἀραβικά, ἴσως κατὰ τὸν 11. ἢ 12. αἰ.). ῾Η ἑβραϊκὴ σύνταξη καὶ ἡ συγγενὴς μὲ τὸ ἔργο προφορικὴ παράδοση ἀποτελοῦν ἴσως τὶς κύριες πηγὲς γιὰ τὶς ἀρχαιότερες «δυτικὲς» συντάξεις τοῦ *Βιβλίου τοῦ Σιντμπάντ* (*Dolopathos*, *Historia septem sapientum*, κ.ἄ.), ποὺ καλύπτουν τὸ φάσμα τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς λατινικῆς καὶ ὅλων σχεδὸν τῶν ἐθνικῶν γλωσσῶν τῆς δυτικῆς καὶ κεντρικῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπὸ τὸν 12. αἰ. κ.ἑ.·

τὴν ἱσπανικὴ (*El libro de los engaños e los asayamientos de las mugeres* ἢ *Τὸ βιβλίο τῶν πανουργιῶν καὶ τῶν κακιῶν τῶν γυναικῶν*, μετάφραση ἀπὸ τὰ ἀραβικά, 1253)[4].

4. Γιὰ τὶς παλαιότερες μνεῖες καὶ τὰ προβλήματά τους βλ. τὴν ἀναλυτικὴ παρουσίαση τοῦ Perry, ὅ.π., σημ. 1.

Γιὰ τὶς μὴ ἑλληνικὲς συντάξεις τοῦ ἔργου, καθὼς καὶ γιὰ τὴ μεταγενέστερη διάδοσή τους, βλ. τὴ βιβλιογραφία τῶν σημ. 1, 2 καί, πρόχειρα, τὸ παλαιότερο σύντομο ἄρθρο τοῦ B. Carra de Vaux, «Sindibād-Nāme», *Enzyklopaedie des Islams*, τ. 4, Leiden - Leipzig [1]1934, σ. 304 - 5, καὶ τὴ νεότερη χρήσιμη ἐπισκόπηση τοῦ *Kindlers Literatur-Lexikon*, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, ὅπου καὶ οἱ περισσότερες ἐκδόσεις, μεταφράσεις σὲ εὐρωπαϊκὲς γλῶσσες καὶ βιβλιογραφία.

2. Τὴν εἰδικότερη διερεύνησή μας ἐνδιαφέρει, φυσικά, ἡ ἑλληνικὴ σύνταξη τοῦ *Βιβλίου τοῦ Σιντμπάντ*.

Ἡ *Βίβλος Συντίπα τοῦ Φιλοσόφου*[5] εἶναι μετάφραση τῆς συριακῆς σύνταξης σὲ λόγια πεζὴ γλώσσα «τῆς ἐποχῆς» (*εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν... ἑλλάδα φράσιν*), ἀπὸ τὸν γραμματικὸ Μιχαὴλ Ἀνδρεόπουλο. Ἡ μετάφραση ἔγινε κατ' ἀνάθεση τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ διοικητῆ τῆς Μελιτηνῆς Γαβριὴλ (*παρὰ Γαβριὴλ τοῦ μεγιστάνων κλέους,/δουκὸς σεβαστοῦ πόλεως μελωνύμου*: πιθανότατα πρὶν ἀπὸ τὸ 1100) καὶ παρακολουθεῖ σὲ γενικὲς γραμμὲς τὸ μόνο γνωστὸ κείμενο τῆς συριακῆς σύνταξης τοῦ *Βιβλίου τοῦ Σιντμπάντ*.

Ἡ Μετάφραση Ἀνδρεόπουλου παρέχει τὸ πληρέστερο καὶ ἴσως καὶ τὸ αὐθεντικότερο ἀπὸ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα γνωστὰ κείμενα τοῦ ἔργου: ἡ συριακὴ σύνταξη παραδόθηκε μόνο σὲ ἕνα χφ, κολοβὸ καὶ μὲ ἐνδιάμεσο χάσμα, ἐνῶ τὸ περσικὸ *Sindbād-nāme* τοῦ Samarqandi καὶ ὁ ἑβραϊκὸ *Mishlé Sendebar* ἀντιπροσωπεύουν εἴτε διαφορετικὴ εἴτε πολὺ ἀλλοιωμένη παράδοση τῆς συλλογῆς.

Ἡ Μετάφραση Ἀνδρεόπουλου βρίσκεται, ἐπίσης, στὴν ἀρχὴ τῆς πλουσιότατης μεταγενέστερης ἑλληνικῆς τύχης τοῦ ἔργου. Πιθανότατα κατὰ τὸν 13. αἰ.[6] μεταφράζεται, μὲ τὴ σειρά της, σὲ ἁπλούστερη γλώσσα[7]. Ἡ δεύτερη αὐτή, ἀνώνυμη μορφὴ εἶναι γνωστότερη ὡς Retractatio καὶ ἀποτελεῖ παράφραση ποὺ ἀκολουθεῖ γενικὰ τὸ περιεχόμενο τῆς Μετάφρασης Ἀνδρεόπουλου, μὲ ὁρισμένες συντομεύσεις καὶ περισσότερες ἀναπτύξεις καὶ προσθῆκες, μὲ ἔμφαση στὴν ἐκλαΐκευση τῆς γλώσσας καὶ τοῦ ὕφους, καθὼς καὶ στὸν τονισμὸ τῶν ρεαλιστικῶν καὶ ἐρωτικῶν θεματικῶν στοιχείων τῆς ἀφήγησης. Τὰ νέα θεματικὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ ὁρισμένες συμφωνίες ἢ ἀναλογίες πρὸς τὴ συριακὴ σύνταξη ἐνδέχεται νὰ ὀφείλονται ὄχι σὲ ἄμεση ἐξάρτηση ἢ σχέση τῆς Retractatio μὲ τὴ συριακὴ σύνταξη, ἀλλὰ σὲ ἐξάρτηση ἀπὸ ἑλληνικὸ πρότυπο πληρέστερο ἢ ἐνμέρει διαφορετικὸ ἀπὸ τὸ γνωστὸ σήμερα κείμενο τῆς Μετάφρασης Ἀνδρεόπουλου.

Ἡ ἐκλαϊκευτικὴ πορεία ἀπόδοσης τοῦ ἔργου, ποὺ εἶναι ἐμφανὴς ἀλλὰ ὄχι

5. Νεότερη κριτικὴ ἔκδοση: V. Jernstedt (-P. Nikitin), *Mich. Andreopuli, Liber Syntipae*, St.-Pétersbourg 1912 [Στὸ ἑξῆς: J. - N.].

Ἀπὸ τὴν ἔκδοση αὐτὴ εἶναι καὶ τὰ παραθέματα τῆς ἐργασίας αὐτῆς· ἐκεῖ, σ. I - II, καὶ οἱ ἐνδείξεις γιὰ τὶς παλαιότερες φιλολογικὲς ἐκδόσεις. Βιβλιογραφία γιὰ τὴ *Βίβλο Συντίπα* βλ. στὶς γενικὲς ἐργασίες τῶν σημ. 1, 2.

6. Δὲν ὑπάρχει ὁμοφωνία γιὰ τὴ χρονολόγηση τοῦ κειμένου τῆς δεύτερης μορφῆς τοῦ ἔργου. Οἱ χρονολογήσεις τῶν περισσότερων ἐρευνητῶν κυμαίνονται ἀπὸ τὰ τέλη τοῦ 12. ὡς τὸν 14. αἰ.· βλ. πρόχειρα Beck, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, καὶ «Die griechische volkstümliche Literatur des 14. Jahrhunderts. Eine Standsortsbestimmung», *Actes du XIVe Congrès... des Études Byzantines...*, τ. 1, București 1974, σ. 127.

7. Νεότερη κριτικὴ ἔκδοση: J. - N., ὅ.π., σημ. 5· ἐκεῖ, σ. I - II, καὶ οἱ ἐνδείξεις γιὰ τὶς παλαιότερες φιλολογικὲς ἐκδόσεις.

ὁλοκληρωμένη στὴ Retractatio, συνεχίζεται στὰ πρῶτα μεταβυζαντινὰ χρόνια. Πιθανότατα ἤδη μέσα στὸν 15., καὶ ἀσφαλῶς καὶ κατὰ τὸν 16. αἰ.[8], ἡ Retractatio μεταφράζεται σὲ δύο τουλάχιστον διαφορετικὲς μεταξύ τους μορφές[9], ἀπὸ τὶς ὁποῖες ἡ μία — ἴσως ἡ λαϊκότερη — σχετίζεται ἄμεσα μὲ τὴν παραγωγὴ ἑνὸς γνωστοῦ κωδικογράφου καὶ συγγραφέα θρησκευτικῶν καὶ θεολογικῶν ἔργων σὲ ἁπλούστερη γλώσσα, τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Ρεσινοῦ (16. αἰ.)[10]. Οἱ Χειρόγραφες Μεταβυζαντινὲς Μεταφράσεις εἶναι παραφράσεις σὲ γλώσσα καὶ ὕφος λαϊκότερο καὶ ἔκφραση ἀναλυτικότερη ἀπὸ ὅ,τι στὴν προγενέστερή τους βυζαντινὴ Retractatio.

Ἡ μεταβυζαντινὴ καὶ νεοελληνικὴ τύχη τοῦ ἔργου ὁλοκληρώνεται μὲ τὴν Ἔντυπη Μετάφραση τοῦ *Μυθολογικοῦ Συντίπα τοῦ Φιλοσόφου*[11]. Ἡ μορφὴ αὐτὴ συγγενεύει γλωσσικά, θεματικὰ καὶ ἐκφραστικὰ μὲ μία ἀπὸ τὶς Χειρόγραφες Μεταβυζαντινὲς Μεταφράσεις — παραδόξως ὄχι μὲ τὴ λαϊκότερη —, εἶναι ὅμως ἀκόμα δύσκολο νὰ ἐντοπιστεῖ μὲ ἀκρίβεια ὁ χρόνος καὶ τὰ περιστατικὰ τῆς σύνθεσης καὶ ἀποκρυστάλλωσης τοῦ κειμένου ποὺ κατέληξε γιὰ πρώτη φορὰ στὸ τυπογραφεῖο[12]. Ἄγνωστος παραμένει καὶ ὁ τόπος (πιθανότατα ἡ Βενετία) καὶ χρόνος τῆς πρώτης ἔκδοσης· ἡ ἀρχαιότερη σωζόμενη ἔκδοση εἶναι τοῦ 1744, ἀλλὰ ὑπάρχουν ἀσφαλεῖς μαρτυρίες γιὰ κυκλοφορία τοῦ ἔντυπου βιβλίου καὶ πρὶν ἀπὸ τὸ 1720, ἐνῶ ἄλλα, ἔμμεσα στοιχεῖα καθιστοῦν πολὺ πιθανὴ τὴν ὑπόθεση ὅτι ὑπάρχει καὶ ἔκδοση τοῦ ἔργου ἤδη μέσα στὸν 17. αἰ. Ἡ κυκλοφορία τῆς ἔντυπης μορφῆς (Βενετία, Ἀθήνα) συνεχίστηκε ὡς τὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ 20. αἰ.

3. Μὲ τὴν Ἔντυπη Μετάφραση τοῦ *Μυθολογικοῦ Συντίπα*, ἴσως ὅμως ἤδη καὶ μὲ τὶς Χειρόγραφες Μεταβυζαντινὲς Μεταφράσεις, συνάπτεται ἡ διάδοση τοῦ ἔργου καὶ σὲ τρεῖς ἀπὸ τὶς βαλκανικὲς γραμματεῖες τῶν νεότερων χρόνων[13].

Ἡ ρουμανικὴ σύνταξη παρουσιάζει μιὰ σειρὰ ἀπὸ χειρόγραφες μεταφράσεις ἀπὸ τὰ ἑλληνικά, ἀπὸ τὶς ὁποῖες ἡ ἀρχαιότερη γνωστή, σὲ χφ τοῦ 1703 (*Povestea despre Sindipa filosoful și discipolul sau*), ἀντιγράφει πα-

8. Δὲν ἔχει γίνει ἀκόμα διερεύνηση τῶν χρονολογικῶν προβλημάτων τῶν Χειρόγραφων Μεταβυζαντινῶν Μεταφράσεων.

9. Νεότερη, ἀποσπασματικὴ ἔκδοση, ἀπὸ ἕνα μόνο χφ: J. Eberhard, *Fabulae romanenses graece conscriptae*, τ. 1, Leipzig 1872, σ. 197 - 224.

10. Βλ., κυρίως, P. Canart, «Constantin Rhésinos, théologien populaire et copiste des manuscripts», *Studi... in onore di T. de Marinis*, τ. 1, Verona 1964, σ. 242 κ.ἑ.

11. Δὲν ὑπάρχει νεότερη φιλολογικὴ ἔκδοση.

12. Δὲν ἔχει γίνει ἀκόμα διερεύνηση τῶν χρονολογικῶν ζητημάτων τοῦ χειρόγραφου προτύπου καὶ τῆς συγκρότησης τοῦ κειμένου τῆς ἔντυπης ἔκδοσης.

13. Δὲν ἔχει ἀκόμα ἐλεγχθεῖ ἡ παλαιότερη πληροφορία τοῦ Chauvin, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, σ. 6: «Il y a une traduction arabe du texte grec, datée de 1801 et conservée dans le manuscrit n° 29 de Bonn (Voir le catalogue de Gildemeister, 89 - 91)». Ἂν ἀφορᾶ τὸ ἔντυπο *Μυθολογικὸν Συντίπα*, τότε ἡ ἐμβέλεια τοῦ βιβλίου ἀποκτᾶ ἄλλες διαστάσεις.

λαιότερη ρουμανικὴ μετάφραση τοῦ 17. αἰ., καὶ δὲν εἶναι βέβαιο ἂν ἀντλεῖ ἀπὸ χειρόγραφο ἢ ἔντυπο ἑλληνικὸ πρότυπο. Ἡ μεταγενέστερη ρουμανικὴ ἔντυπη ἔκδοση (*Istoria Syndipii filosofului*, 1802, 1834) ἀντλεῖ κατὰ πάσα πιθανότητα ἀπευθείας ἀπὸ τὸ ἔντυπο *Μυθολογικὸν Συντίπα*[14].

Τὸ *Μυθολογικὸν Συντίπα* εἶναι τὸ ἀποκλειστικὸ πρότυπο τοῦ ἀρχαιότερου κειμένου τῆς βουλγαρικῆς σύνταξης, τῆς χειρόγραφης μετάφρασης τοῦ 1802 (*Mitologija na Sintip filosof*). Ἡ μεταγενέστερη βουλγαρικὴ ἔντυπη ἔκδοση (*Basnoslovie Sintipy filosofa*, 1844), παρὰ τὶς μεγαλύτερες ἐλευθερίες τοῦ μεταφραστῆ, ἀποτελεῖ καὶ αὐτὴ μετάφραση ἀπὸ τὴν ἔντυπη ἑλληνικὴ μορφή[15].

Τὸ ἴδιο συμβαίνει καὶ μὲ τὴ σερβικὴ σύνταξη, τῆς ὁποίας ἀρχαιότερη μορφὴ εἶναι ἡ ἔντυπη ἔκδοση τοῦ 1809 (*Istorija Sindipy filosofa*)[16].

II

1. Ὕστερα ἀπὸ τὴ σύντομη αὐτὴ γενικὴ ἐπισκόπηση περνοῦμε σὲ μερικὲς διαπιστώσεις καὶ παρατηρήσεις ποὺ ἀφοροῦν τὴν ἑλληνικὴ σύνταξη καὶ τὰ κείμενά της.

Τὸ *Βιβλίο τοῦ Σιντμπάντ*, συλλογὴ ἀπὸ τὶς πιὸ σημαντικὲς καὶ ἀγαπητὲς τοῦ Μεσαίωνα σὲ Ἀνατολὴ καὶ Δύση, κατόρθωσε νὰ γίνει «λαϊκὸ βιβλίο» (Volksbuch) καί, πολὺ γρήγορα, «διεθνὲς βιβλίο» (Weltbuch). Ξεπέρασε σὲ μεταφράσεις, παραφράσεις καὶ μιμήσεις ὅλα τὰ ἔργα τῆς κλασικῆς ἀρχαιότητας καὶ ὑπολείφθηκε μόλις ἀπὸ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀποκαλυπτικὰ βιβλία τῶν μεγάλων μονοθεϊστικῶν θρησκειῶν· διεθνοποίησε ἕνα τμῆμα τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ ἀφηγηματικοῦ (μυθογραφικοῦ, παραβολικοῦ, παραμυθικοῦ καὶ μυθιστορικοῦ) λόγιου καὶ λαϊκοῦ ὑλικοῦ, ἐπιταχύνοντας τὸν «λαογραφικὸ ἰσομορφισμὸ» στὸν εὐρα-

14. Χρησιμότατη ἀκόμα ἡ παλαιότερη ἐξέταση τοῦ N. Cartojan, *Cărţile populare în literatura românească*, τ. 2: *Epoca influenţei greceşti*, Bucureşti ^{1}1938, ^{2}1974, σ. 353 - 69. Νεότερη βιβλιογραφία: Δ. Β. Οἰκονομίδης, «Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ δημώδη βιβλία καὶ ἡ ἐπίδρασις αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν πνευματικὸν βίον τοῦ ρουμανικοῦ λαοῦ», *Ἐπετηρὶς Λαογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου* 6 (1950 - 1) 3 - 56· I. C. Chiţimia - D. Simonescu, *Cărţile populare în literatura românească*, τ. 1, Bucureşti 1963, σ. 349 - 401 (ὅπου καὶ ἔκδοση τῆς ἀρχαιότερης χειρόγραφης μετάφρασης)· M. Muthu, «De 'Sindipa' au 'Divan persan'», *Synthesis* 2 (1975) 175 - 80· M. Anghelescu, «Un manuscris necunoscut al 'Sindipei'», *Limba romana* 1 (1975) 39 - 41, *Literatura română şi Orientul (secolele XVII - XIX)*, Bucureşti 1975, σ. 48 - 50.

15. Βλ. M. Murco, «Die Geschichte von den sieben Weisen bei den Slaven», *Sitzungsberichte der. . . Akad. d. Wiss., phil. - hist. Kl.*, τ. 122, 10, Wien 1890, σ. 4 - 9· A. Aleksieva, «Prevodnite povesti i romani ot grăčki prez părvata polovina na XIX v. (do Krimskata vojna)», *Studia Balkanica* 8 (1974) 121 κ.ἑ.

16. Βλ. *Kindlers Literatur-Lexikon*, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, σ. 8745.

σιατικὸ χῶρο· συνέβαλε στὴ διαμόρφωση τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς εὐρωπαϊκῆς λογοτεχνίας, ἀνοίγοντας τὸν δρόμο πρὸς νέες ἐξελίξεις τῶν εἰδῶν τοῦ exemplum, τῆς novella καὶ τῆς περιπετειώδους μυθιστορικῆς διήγησης ὡς τὸ picaro.

Ἡ παρουσία τῆς συλλογῆς στὴ βυζαντινὴ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴ γραμματεία καὶ ἡ ἀδιάκοπη λογοτεχνικὴ ζωή της ἀπὸ τὰ τέλη τοῦ 11. ὡς τὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ 20. αἰ. ἔχουν ἰδιαίτερο ἐνδιαφέρον ὄχι μόνο γιὰ τὴν ἱστορία καὶ τὴν ἀνάπτυξη τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ καὶ νεοελληνικοῦ μὴ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ἔντεχνου πεζοῦ λόγου, γιὰ τὶς μεταμορφώσεις τῆς ἀκμαιότατης κατηγορίας τῶν ἠθικοδιδακτικῶν ἔργων καὶ γιὰ τὴν ἄνδρωση τῆς νοβελιστικῆς καὶ φανταστικῆς λογοτεχνίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ γιὰ τὶς ἐπίσημες ἐπαφὲς τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ κόσμου μὲ τὶς ἀνατολικὲς φιλολογίες τοῦ Ἰσλὰμ (μὲ τὴ συριακή καί, μέσω αὐτῆς, μὲ τὴν ἀραβικὴ καὶ περσική), γιὰ τὴ γόνιμη διαπίδυση καὶ ἐπικοινωνία ἀνατολικοῦ καὶ βυζαντινοῦ/μεταβυζαντινοῦ λαϊκοῦ πολιτισμοῦ καὶ γιὰ τὴ γέννηση καὶ τὶς τύχες τοῦ νεοελληνικοῦ ἀνατολισμοῦ. Ἀνάλογες σὲ σημασία εἶναι οἱ ἐπιπτώσεις τῶν μεταβυζαντινῶν μορφῶν στὴ διαμόρφωση γειτονικῶν φιλολογιῶν, ὅπως ἡ ρουμανική, ἡ βουλγαρικὴ καὶ ἡ σερβική, ποὺ ἐπηρεάζονται, στὴν παλαιότερη φάση τους, σοβαρὰ ἀπὸ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ γραμματεία.

2. Ἡ σημασία τῆς Μετάφρασης Ἀνδρεόπουλου γιὰ τὶς πολιτισμικὲς ἐπαφὲς τῶν βυζαντινῶν ἀνατολικῶν ἐπαρχιῶν μὲ τὴν ἰσλαμικὴ Ἀνατολή, στὴ ρευστὴ περίοδο τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 11. αἰ. καὶ σὲ ἕνα χῶρο ὅπου ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὴ βυζαντινὴ ἔντονη εἶναι καὶ ἡ ἀρμενικὴ ἐπίδραση, δὲν εἶναι εὐκαταφρόνητη.

Οἱ ἀδιερεύνητες ἀκόμα, σὲ μεγάλο βαθμό, γραμματειακὲς προσλήψεις καὶ ἀνταλλαγὲς τοῦ Βυζαντίου μὲ τὴ μὴ ἑλληνόγλωσση Ἀνατολὴ δὲν ἱδρύονται, βέβαια, μόλις στὸ τέλος τοῦ 11. αἰ.[17] Ἀκόμη καὶ ἂν περιοριστοῦμε στὰ μὴ καθαυτὸ θρησκευτικὰ-θεολογικὰ ἔργα καὶ στὰ μὴ ἀττικιστικὰ κείμενα, καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτὰ μόνο στὸ ἀφηγηματικὸ γένος, οἱ σχέσεις αὐτὲς ἀνιχνεύονται ἀπὸ τὴν ἐποχὴ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν πεζῶν μεταφράσεων τοῦ μυθιστορήματος *Βαρλαὰμ καὶ Ἰωάσαφ* (μάλλον τοῦ 8. αἰ., ἴσως ἀπὸ τὰ ἀραβικὰ)[18] καὶ τῆς συλλογῆς μύθων καὶ ἀπολόγων *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης* (πρώτη γνωστὴ μετάφραση τοῦ 9. αἰ., δεύτερη μετάφραση τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 11. αἰ., καὶ οἱ δύο ἀπὸ τὰ ἀραβικά)[19]. Πρὸς τὴν ἴδια κατεύθυνση ὁδηγεῖ ἡ ἐπισήμανση, στὸν ἴδιο νευραλγικὸ

17. Πρόχειρα, βλ. τὰ βιβλιογραφικὰ καὶ ἄλλα στοιχεῖα ποὺ παρέχουν τὰ νεότερα γραμματολογικὰ ἔργα τῶν H. - G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München 1959, *Geschichte*, ὅ.π., σημ. 1· H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, τ. 1 - 2, München 1978.

18. Βλ. Beck, *Geschichte*, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, σ. 35 - 41.

19. Βλ. J. - Th. Papademetriou, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of Stephanites kai Ichnelates*, Urbana, III., 1960· L. - O. Sjöberg, *Stephanites und Ichnelates. Überlieferungsgeschichte und Text*, Stockholm - Göteborg - Uppsala 1962· Beck, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, σ. 41 - 5.

χῶρο τῶν συνοριακῶν περιοχῶν τοῦ Εὐφράτη, ἐκφορῶν Αἰσωπικοῦ ὑλικοῦ, ὅπως τῶν λεγόμενων *Μύθων Συντίπα*, ποὺ μεταφράζονται ἀπὸ τὰ συριακὰ (ἴσως ἀπὸ τὸν ἴδιο τὸν Μιχαὴλ Ἀνδρεόπουλο), καὶ ἡ ἐπιβίωση καὶ παραγωγὴ ἄλλων Αἰσωπικῶν μύθων (μιὰ συλλογή τους ἀνήκει στὸν 13. αἰ.)[20], ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ πλούσια δημιουργία βυζαντινῶν καὶ ἀραβικῶν ἡρωικῶν ἀσμάτων καὶ ἔμμετρων ἢ πεζῶν ἐπικῶν διηγήσεων ποὺ σχετίζονται μὲ τὴν κοινὴ πολεμικὴ καὶ εἰρηνικὴ ἱστορία τῆς ἀνατολικῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας καὶ Συρίας (μαρτυρίες ἀπὸ τὸν 9. αἰ. κ.ἑ., ἐπιφανέστερα παραδείγματα, ἀντίστοιχα, τὰ *Ἀκριτικὰ* καὶ ὁ *Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης*[21], καὶ ἡ μυθιστορία τοῦ *ʿUmar b. al-Nuʿmān*)[22].

Ἡ φιλολογικὴ καὶ λογοτεχνικὴ αὐτὴ δραστηριότητα δίνει ἐνδιαφέροντες δεῖκτες γιὰ τοὺς προσανατολισμοὺς καὶ τὸ πολιτισμικὸ ἐπίπεδο τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐπαρχίας. Τὸ δεύτερο μισὸ τοῦ 11. αἰ. φαίνεται ὅτι ἀποτελεῖ στὴ δραστηριότητα αὐτὴ κορυφαία στιγμή, ἀλλὰ τὰ σχετικὰ ζητήματα δὲν ἔχουν ἀκόμα μελετηθεῖ ἱκανοποιητικά, οὔτε ὅσον ἀφορᾶ τὴ βυζαντινὴ οὔτε ὅσον ἀφορᾶ τὶς ἀνατολικὲς γραμματεῖες τῆς περιόδου.

Ἡ Μετάφραση Ἀνδρεόπουλου ἔχει, ὅμως, σημασία καὶ γιὰ τὴν ἐξέλιξη τῆς ἴδιας τῆς βυζαντινῆς γραμματείας. Ἐνταγμένη ὀρθὰ στὴν ἱστορία τῆς «δημώδους» γραμματείας, παρὰ τὴ λόγια (ὄχι ὅμως ἀττικιστικὴ) γλωσσική της μορφή[23], βρίσκεται στὶς ἀπαρχὲς τῆς νεοελληνικῆς λογοτεχνικῆς πεζογραφίας καὶ εἶναι ἀπὸ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα[24] καὶ τὰ πιὸ ἀξιόλογα δείγματα τῆς παιδευτικῆς μεταφραστικῆς-παραφραστικῆς πράξης τῆς ἐποχῆς τῶν πρώτων Κομνηνῶν[25].

20. Γιὰ τὰ σχετικὰ προβλήματα βλ., κυρίως, B. E. Perry, *Aesopica I*, Urbana, Ill., 1952· *Origin*, ὅ.π., σημ. 1· «The Greek Source of some Armenian Fables, and certain closely-related Matters of Tradition», *Polychronion: Festschrift für Franz Dölger*, Heidelberg 1966, σ. 418 - 30.

Γιὰ τοὺς *Μύθους Συντίπα* ὑπάρχει, πάντως, καὶ ἡ ἄποψη ὅτι ἀνήκουν στὴν ἐποχὴ τῶν Παλαιολόγων· τὰ σχετικὰ ζητήματα δὲν ἔχουν διερευνηθεῖ ἱκανοποιητικά.

21. Γιὰ τὴν πλούσια σχετικὴ βιβλιογραφία (ὡς τὸ 1971) βλ. Beck, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, σ. 48 - 97. Ἡ κύρια νεότερη βιβλιογραφία παρέχεται στὶς πρόσφατες μονογραφίες τῆς Ι. Καραγιάννη, *Ὁ 'Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτας' τοῦ Ἐσκοριὰλ (Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τοῦ κειμένου)*, Ἰωάννινα 1976, καὶ τοῦ Σ. Ἀλεξίου, *Ἀκριτικά*, Ἡράκλειο 1979.

22. Γιὰ τὴ βιβλιογραφία ποὺ ἀφορᾶ τὴ σχέση μὲ τὸ βυζαντινὸ ἐπικὸ ὑλικὸ βλ. Beck, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, σ. 48 κ.ἑ., καὶ Β. Χρηστίδης, «Arabic Influence on the Akritic Cycle», *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 94 - 109.

Γιὰ τὴ θέση τῆς μυθιστορίας στὶς *Χίλιες καὶ Μία Νύχτες* βλ. τὴ γενικὴ βιβλιογραφία ποὺ δίνω στὸ ἄρθρο μου «Χίλιες καὶ Μία Νύχτες: Σταθμοὶ στὶς τύχες τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἡ μετάφραση τοῦ Κώστα Τρικογλίδη», *Διαβάζω* 33 (Ἰούλιος 1980) 42 - 59.

23. Βλ. τὶς ἐνδιαφέρουσες διευκρινίσεις τοῦ Beck, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, σ. VII - VIII.

24. Ἀπὸ τὴν ἐποχὴ τῶν ἀρχικῶν παρατηρήσεων τοῦ Comparetti, ὅ.π., σημ. 2, σ. 29 - 31 καὶ 55 - 8 ἀντίστοιχα, δὲν ἔχει γίνει ἡ ἀπαραίτητη νέα καὶ συστηματικότερη διερεύνηση γιὰ τὴν ἱστορικὴ τοποθέτηση τοῦ Ἀνδρεόπουλου, τοῦ «δουκὸς σεβαστοῦ» Γαβριὴλ τῆς Μελιτηνῆς καὶ τῶν δραστηριοτήτων τους.

25. Ἐνδιαφέρουσες παρατηρήσεις γιὰ τὴν περίοδο αὐτὴ ἔγιναν πρόσφατα ἀπὸ τοὺς H.

3. Τὸ κείμενο τῆς R e t r a c t a t i o προβάλλει ἕνα παράδειγμα σαφέστερο καὶ πολὺ πιὸ ἐνδιαφέρον γιὰ τὴ μεταγενέστερη ἐξέλιξη τῆς βυζαντινῆς δημώδους γραμματείας. Ὁ ἀκριβέστερος χρονολογικὸς καθορισμὸς τῆς Retractatio— ποὺ ἀποτελεῖ ἐπεῖγον ζητούμενο τῆς ἔρευνας — θὰ διευκρινίσει ὡς ποιὸ βαθμὸ ἡ ἐκλαϊκευτικὴ μεταφραστικὴ τάση, τὴν ὁποία ἐκπροσωπεῖ, σχετίζεται μὲ ἀνάλογες τάσεις στὸν πεζὸ λόγο καὶ στὰ πρῶτα ἀνεπτυγμένα ἔμμετρα δημώδη κείμενα τῆς ἐποχῆς τῶν Κομνηνῶν (12. αἰ.), ἢ ἀνήκει στὴν ἐμφανέστερη ἀντίστοιχη τάση τοῦ τέλους τοῦ 13. αἰ. καὶ τοῦ 14. αἰ.[26]

4. Οἱ Χ ε ι ρ ό γ ρ α φ ε ς Μ ε τ α β υ ζ α ν τ ι ν ὲ ς Μ ε τ α φ ρ ά σ ε ι ς συνδέονται μὲ μιὰ περισσότερο ἁπτή, ὄχι ὅμως καὶ μὲ ἐπάρκεια διερευνημένη μεταφραστικὴ δραστηριότητα, ποὺ ἀντανακλᾶ τὶς ἔντονες παιδευτικὲς-ἐκλαϊκευτικὲς ἀνησυχίες τῶν λογίων ἀπὸ τὸ τέλος τοῦ 15., καὶ ἰδιαίτερα ἀπὸ τὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ 16. αἰ.[27] Οἱ ἀνησυχίες αὐτὲς ἐκδηλώνονται κυρίως στὸν πεζὸ λόγο καὶ ἐπιβάλλονται ἢ ὑποβοηθοῦνται ἀπὸ βαθύτερα ἱστορικὰ καὶ κοινωνικὰ αἴτια· δὲν πρέπει, πάντως, νὰ εἶναι ἀνεξάρτητες ἀπὸ τὸ παράλληλο φαινόμενο τῶν ἔμμετρων λαϊκότερων παραφράσεων καὶ διασκευῶν πρωτότυπων ἔργων καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ὤθηση ποὺ δίνουν στὶς σχετικὲς ζυμώσεις καὶ πρωτοβουλίες οἱ νέες γλωσσικὲς καὶ μετρικὲς πραγματικότητες, τὰ ἀναγνωστικὰ γοῦστα τῆς ἐποχῆς καὶ οἱ ριζοσπαστικὲς προοπτικὲς ποὺ ἀνοίγει ἡ δυνατότητα τῆς ἔντυπης διάδοσης σὲ εὐρύτερο κοινό.

5. Ἡ σημασία τῆς Ἔ ν τ υ π η ς Μ ε τ ά φ ρ α σ η ς γιὰ τὴ διαμόρφωση τῆς νεοελληνικῆς πεζογραφίας γενικά, καὶ τῆς νοβελιστικῆς καὶ φανταστικῆς λογοτεχνίας εἰδικότερα, εἶναι ἴσως ἀκόμη μεγαλύτερη. Ἡ διείσδυση τοῦ ἔργου μέσα στὴν παιδεία καὶ τὰ ἀναγνωστικὰ ἐνδιαφέροντα τῆς νεοελληνικῆς κοινωνίας ὡς τὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ αἰώνα μας — παράλληλα μὲ τὴ μαρτυρημένη ἐπι-

Hunger, *Anonyme Metaphrase zu Anna Komnene, Alexias XI - XIII. Ein Beitrag zur Erschliessung der byzantinischen Umgangssprache*, Wien 1981, καὶ I. Ševčenko, «Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose», *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Akten I/1*, Wien 1981, σ. 289 - 312.

Τὰ θεωρητικὰ προβλήματα τῆς «παράφρασης» ἀπασχόλησαν πρόσφατα τὸν A. Pignani, «La parafrasi come forma d'uso strumentale», *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Résumés der Kurzbeitrage*, Wien 1981 (περίληψη).

26. Γιὰ τὴν τάση αὐτὴ ὁλόκληρης τῆς ὑστεροβυζαντινῆς περιόδου καὶ τῶν ἑπόμενων αἰώνων βλ. τὴ συνοπτικὴ παρουσίαση τοῦ H. - G. Beck, «Der Leserkreis der byzantinischen 'Volksliteratur' im Licht der handschriftlichen Überlieferung» *Byzantine Books and Bookmen...*, Dumbarton Oaks, D. C., 1975, σ. 53 κ.ἑ.

27. Βλ. Κ. Θ. Δημαρᾶς, *Ἱστορία τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς Λογοτεχνίας*, Ἀθ. [6]1975, σ. 48 κ.ἑ.· Λ. Πολίτης, «Venezia come centro della stampa e della diffusione della prima letteratura neoellenica», *Venezia centro di mediazione...*, τ. 2, Firenze 1977, σ. 443 - 82· Canart, ὅ.π., σημ. 10· Ε. Κακουλίδη-Πάνου, «Ἡ δημώδης νεοελληνικὴ πεζογραφία τοῦ 16ου αἰώνα. Πορίσματα ἔρευνας», *XVI. ... Byzantinistenkongress, Résumés*, ὅ.π., σημ. 25 (περίληψη).

τυχία τῶν θυγατρικῶν μορφῶν του μέσα στὶς βαλκανικὲς γραμματεῖες — τονίζει ἀκόμη περισσότερο τὴν περιορισμένη ἀξία τῶν συμβατικῶν προσεγγίσεων τῆς νεότερης λογοτεχνίας μας, ποὺ δίνουν ὑπερβολικὴ ἔμφαση στὰ χειρόγραφα καὶ ὄχι στὰ ἔντυπα, στὰ «πρωτότυπα» καὶ «νεοτερικὰ» καὶ ὄχι καὶ στὰ «παραδοσιακὰ» καὶ «παλαιότροπα», στὰ ἔργα μὲ μία ἢ περιορισμένες ἐκδόσεις καὶ ὄχι στὰ ἔργα μὲ πολλαπλὲς ἀνατυπώσεις καὶ «τραβήγματα» κατὰ μέσον ὅρο πολὺ ὑψηλὰ γιὰ τὴν ἐποχή τους.

Ἡ συμβολὴ τοῦ ἔργου στὴ δημιουργία καὶ ὡρίμανση «μέσου», μὴ ἰδιωματικοῦ λογοτεχνικοῦ πεζογραφικοῦ ἰδιώματος εἶναι ἀναμφισβήτητη· ἡ διαμόρφωση ἑνιαίου καὶ εὔκαμπτου πεζοῦ λόγου, κυρίως μέσα στὸν 17. καὶ 18. αἰ., ἐπιτελεῖται, ἔτσι, ὄχι μόνο μέσω μεταφράσεων καὶ παραφράσεων ἀπὸ νεότερα δυτικοευρωπαϊκὰ πρότυπα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέσω μιᾶς διαρκοῦς, «συντηρητικῆς», ἀλλὰ σταθερῆς διαδικασίας ἁπλούστευσης καὶ τροποποίησης τῆς βυζαντινῆς/μεταβυζαντινῆς παράδοσης [28]. Ἡ ἴδια αὐτὴ ζωτικότητα τῆς παράδοσης πρέπει, ἄλλωστε, νὰ συνέβαλε, σὲ σημαντικὸ βαθμό, στὴ διάδοση καὶ ἐπιβίωση διηγήσεων σχετικῶν μὲ τὸ ἔργο στὴ λαϊκὴ προφορικὴ ἀφηγηματικὴ λογοτεχνία [29].

Ἡ δημοτικότητα τοῦ *Μυθολογικοῦ Συντίπα* καὶ ἡ μαρτυρημένη ἐκδοτική του ἐπιτυχία κατατάσσουν τὸ ἔργο ἀνάμεσα στὰ εὐάριθμα εὐνοημένα «λαϊκὰ βιβλία» (ἀναγνώσματα καὶ ἀκροάματα) ποὺ περνοῦν τὸ περιοριστικὸ ὅριο τοῦ αἰώνα μας, ἔστω καὶ συνοδευόμενα ἀπὸ χαρακτηρισμοὺς ὑποτιμητικοὺς ἢ «οὐδέτερους», ὅπως: «δημώδη βιβλία» ἢ «ἀναγνώσματα τῶν πάππων» [30]. Γιὰ τὴν πάνδημη πρόσληψη καὶ κατανάλωση τοῦ *Συντίπα* οἱ μαρτυρίες ἀφθονοῦν, ἀπὸ τὸν Καισάριο Δαπόντε (±1770) [31] ὥς τὸν Ν.Γ. Πολίτη

28. Ὁρισμένα ἀπὸ τὰ σχετικὰ ζητήματα θίγονται στὴν πρόσφατη ἀνακοίνωσή μου «Οἱ ἔντυπες νεοελληνικὲς μεταφράσεις τοῦ 18. αἰ.: Παρατηρήσεις καὶ ἀποτιμήσεις», *XVI. ... Byzantinistenkongress, Résumés*, ὅ.π., σημ. 25 (περίληψη).

29. Δὲν ἔχει γίνει ἀκόμα διερεύνηση καὶ ἀξιοποίηση τῶν δημοσιευμένων διηγήσεων, ἢ τοῦ θησαυρισμένου ὑλικοῦ τῶν ποικίλων λαογραφικῶν συλλογῶν. Ἡ σχετικὴ ἔρευνα θὰ διευκολυνθεῖ, π.χ., ἀφάνταστα, ἂν συνεχιστεῖ ἡ ἔκδοση τοῦ Καταλόγου τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Παραμυθιῶν· ὡς τώρα ἔχει δημοσιευτεῖ μόνο τὸ πρῶτο τεῦχος: Γ. Α. Μέγας, *Τὸ Ἑλληνικὸ Παραμύθι. Ἀναλυτικὸς κατάλογος τύπων καὶ παραλλαγῶν κατὰ τὸ σύστημα Aarne-Thompson (FFC 184), Μύθοι Ζώων*, Ἀθ. 1978.

30. Βλ. Ν. Γ. Πολίτης, «Δημώδη βιβλία. *Συντίπας*», *Ἑστία* 4 (1877) 430 - 8 (καὶ *Λαογραφικὰ Σύμμεικτα*, Α', Ἀθ. 1920, σ. 178 - 95)· Σ. Λάμπρος, «Τὰ ἀναγνώσματα τῶν πάππων μας», *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 15 (1921) 254.

31. Ἡ πρώτη ἀπὸ τὶς δύο σημειωμένες ἀναφορὲς τοῦ Δαπόντε στὸ ἔργο παρουσιάζει τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον μιᾶς πρώιμης νεοελληνικῆς συγκριτικοφιλολογικῆς προσπάθειας: στὸ ἀνέκδοτο, συνολικά, *Φανάρι Γυναικῶν* (χφ Ξηροποτάμου 253, f. 141ʳ) ἡ ἱστορία τοῦ Ἰταφέρνη, ὅπου γίνεται μνεία τοῦ Κύρου καὶ τῶν ἑφτὰ συμβούλων του, συνδέεται ἀπὸ τὸν Δαπόντε μὲ τὴ «διήγηση-πλαίσιο» καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν προσώπων τοῦ *Συντίπα*: *Καὶ τοῦ Συντίπα ἔδωκεν ἐτοῦτο τὴν αἰτίαν / καὶ ἔγραψε τὴν μυθικὴν ἐκείνην ἱστορίαν.*

(1877) [32], τὸν Σ. Λάμπρο (1921) [33] καὶ τὸν Μ. Γεδεὼν (1932) [34]. Ἀλλὰ καὶ γιὰ τὴν ἀξιοσημείωτη ἀκτινοβολία του σὲ λόγιους καὶ λογοτέχνες δὲν μᾶς λείπουν τὰ στοιχεῖα· ἀρκεῖ νὰ σημειωθοῦν ἐδῶ ἡ παραδειγματικὴ ἀναφορὰ τοῦ Ροΐδη (1877) [35], ἡ δημιουργικὴ χρήση τῆς ἴδιας ἀναφορᾶς ἀπὸ τὸν Παλαμὰ (1892) [36] καὶ ἡ ἀνανεωτικὴ μεταφραστικὴ πρωτοβουλία τοῦ ἔνθερμου καὶ παραγωγικοῦ ἀνατολιστῆ Τρικογλίδη (1923) [37], γιὰ νὰ περάσουμε αἰσίως ἀπὸ τὶς παραμονὲς τῆς «Γενιᾶς τοῦ 1880» στὴν ἑπομένη τῆς Μικρασιατικῆς Καταστροφῆς.

III

1. Οἱ διαπιστώσεις ποὺ ἔγιναν πείθουν, νομίζω, γιὰ τὴν ἀξία μιᾶς νέας, σφαιρικῆς διερεύνησης τοῦ *Συντίπα* σὲ ὁλόκληρη τὴ βυζαντινὴ καὶ μεταβυζαντινή του παράδοση. Ἡ ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡ χρησιμότητα ἑνὸς ἀνάλογου ἐγχειρήματος γίνεται καλύτερα κατανοητή, ἂν ἐκτεθοῦν ὁρισμένες παρατηρήσεις γιὰ τὴ χειρόγραφη καὶ ἔντυπη παράδοση, τὶς νεότερες φιλολογικὲς ἐκδόσεις, τὴ γλωσσικὴ καὶ ἐκφραστικὴ σχέση τῶν γνωστῶν μορφῶν, τὴ θεματικὴ δομὴ καὶ τὴν ποιητική τους, τὶς πηγές, τὰ παράλληλα, τὴ γραμματολογικὴ τοποθέτηση καὶ τὴν τύχη τοῦ ἔργου.

2. Οἱ δυσκολίες στὴν περιγραφὴ τῆς χειρόγραφης παράδοσης τοῦ *Συντίπα* εἶναι σημαντικές. Παρόλο ποὺ ἀρκετὰ νέα χφφ ἔχουν

Ἡ δεύτερη ἀναφορά, στὸ ἴδιο ἔργο, f. 206ʳ - 206ᵛ, δείχνει, πέρα ἀπὸ τὴ γνωστὴ ἀφομοιωτικὴ καὶ θετικὴ διάθεση τοῦ Δαπόντε ἀπέναντι σὲ κάθε λογῆς μάθηση καὶ διασκέδαση, καὶ τὴν πρόθυμη αὐτοδιαφήμισή του, τὴ συνηθισμένη στὴν ἐποχὴ τοῦ «διαφωτισμοῦ» ἀξιολογικὴ σύγκριση μὲ τὰ ἀνατολικὰ «ψεύτικα-φανταστικὰ» βιβλία ἢ ἔργα: *Καλὸς κι' ὁ Στεφανίτης δέ, γεμάτος ἱστορίας, / καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης λέγεται, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδίας. / Καλὸς καὶ ὁ Συντίπας δέ, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Περσίας, / καλὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ Χαλιμά, ἡ ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας. / Οἱ ἱστορίες δὲ αὐτές, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Συντίπα, / καὶ ἡ τοῦ Στεφανίτου δέ, ὁποὺ παράνω εἶπα, / εἶν' ὅλες παραμύθια, πλήρεις μὲ φαντασίας, / τοῦ Τζέτζη καὶ δικές σου δὲ* [=τοῦ ἴδιου τοῦ Δαπόντε] *εἶναι τῆς ἀληθείας...* Τὰ παραθέματα εἶναι ἀπὸ τὴ διατριβὴ τοῦ Ε. Σουλογιάννη, *Cesario Daponte e la sua opera 'Φανάρι Γυναικῶν'*, Roma 1973 - 4 (πολυγραφ.).

32. Ὅ.π., σημ. 30.

33. Ὅ.π., σημ. 30.

34. Βλ. Μ. Ι. Γεδεών, *Ἀποσημειώματα Χρονογράφου, 1800 - 1913*, Ἀθ. 1932, σ. 188 - 9.

35. Βλ. Ε. Ροΐδης, «Περὶ συγχρόνου ἐν Ἑλλάδι κριτικῆς», *Ἅπαντα*, τ. 2, Ἀθ. 1978, σ. 248.

36. Βλ. Κ. Παλαμάς, «Βιβλία καὶ συγγραφεῖς. 'Ἱστορία τοῦ ΙΘ' αἰῶνος' ὑπὸ Π. Καρολίδου», *Ἅπαντα*, τ. 15, Ἀθ. 1969, σ. 163 - 7.

37. Βλ. Κ. Τρικογλίδης, *Συντίπας ἢ Οἱ Πανουργίες καὶ οἱ Μηχανορραφίες τῶν Γυναικῶν*, Ἀθ. 1923 (μετάφραση ἀπὸ ἀραβικὲς ἐκδόσεις τῶν *Ἑφτὰ Βεζίρηδων=Χίλιες καὶ Μία Νύχτες*, νύχτες 578 - 606, μὲ Πρόλογο, ὑποσελίδια σχόλια καὶ συγκριτικὴ παράθεση ἀποσπασμάτων τοῦ *Μυθολογικοῦ Συντίπα*). Γιὰ τὴν ὑπόλοιπη δραστηριότητα τοῦ Τρικογλίδη βλ. τὸ ἄρθρο μου «Χίλιες καὶ Μία Νύχτες...», ὅ.π., σημ. 22.

ἐπισημανθεῖ τὰ τελευταῖα χρόνια, ἡ ἔρευνα βρίσκεται ἀκόμα στὰ πρῶτα στάδια, καὶ δὲν ὑπάρχει πλήρης οὔτε συστηματικὴ καταγραφή[38]. Ἀπαραίτητη προϋπόθεση εἶναι μιὰ ὁλοκληρωμένη διερεύνηση ὅλων τῶν καταλόγων ἑλληνικῶν χφφ, ἰδιαίτερα ὅσων παρέχουν πληροφορίες γιὰ χφφ πολὺ νεότερης ἐποχῆς (παρὰ τὴν ὕπαρξη τῆς ἔντυπης μορφῆς, τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι δὲν ἔχουν ἐπισημανθεῖ χφφ τοῦ ἔργου γραμμένα ὕστερα ἀπὸ τὸν 17. αἰ. εἶναι μᾶλλον περίεργο)[39]. Ἀναγκαῖος εἶναι καὶ ὁ προσεκτικὸς ἔλεγχος τῶν ἐνδείξεων τῶν καταλόγων: ὅπως ἔχουν ἤδη διαπιστώσει μελετητὲς τῶν χφφ συγγενῶν ἀφηγηματικῶν ἔργων, καὶ μυθογραφικῶν συλλογῶν, στὰ ὁποῖα παραδίδεται συνήθως καὶ τὸ κείμενο τοῦ *Συντίπα*, οἱ ἐνδείξεις τῶν καταλόγων εἶναι συχνὰ ἀτελεῖς ἢ καὶ παραπλανητικές, ἐνσωματώνοντας ἢ συγχέοντας, π.χ., τὸν *Συντίπα* μὲ τοὺς *Μύθους Συντίπα*, τὸν *Βίο Σεκούνδου* ἢ καὶ τὸν *Στεφανίτη καὶ Ἰχνηλάτη*[40].

Τὰ πρῶτα συμπεράσματα τῆς ἔρευνάς μου καὶ οἱ συγκρίσεις μὲ χφφ συγγενῶν ἔργων δείχνουν ὅτι:

(1) Ἡ διάδοση τοῦ ἔργου πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ἀρκετὰ μεγαλύτερη ἀπὸ αὐτὴν ποὺ ὑποβάλλουν οἱ ὡς τώρα συγκεντρωτικὲς ἀναγραφὲς χφφ ὅλων τῶν μορφῶν καὶ οἱ ἄλλες μεμονωμένες συμπληρώσεις[41].

(2) Ἡ ἀναγωγὴ τῶν γνωστῶν χφφ στὶς ἀντίστοιχες μορφὲς τοῦ ἔργου περιέχει κάποτε ἀνακριβεῖς ταυτίσεις.

Γιὰ παράδειγμα: Ἕνα ἀπὸ τὰ χφφ ποὺ προσγράφεται[42] στὴ Retractatio,

38. Οἱ κύριες πληροφορίες, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ αὐτὲς ποὺ δίνουν οἱ φιλολογικὲς ἐκδόσεις, στὰ ἔργα: Krumbacher, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, σ. 893· Perry, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, σ. 59 - 60· Canart, ὅ.π., σημ. 10, σσ. 246, 250, σημ. 4.

39. Δὲν ὑπάρχουν νεότερες πληροφορίες γιὰ τὴν πρόοδο τῆς σύνταξης τοῦ συγκεντρωτικοῦ πίνακα ποὺ εἶχε ἀναγγελθεῖ ἀπὸ τὸν W. Hayes, «Author-name Work-title Index of Printed Catalogues of Greek Manuscripts», *Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, I*, Ἀθ. 1979, σ. 128 - 34, τοῦ ὁποίου ἡ δημοσίευση θὰ διευκόλυνε ἀφάνταστα ἀνάλογες ζητήσεις.

40. Οἱ παρατηρήσεις γιὰ τὴν ὕπαρξη μιᾶς κοινῆς λαϊκῆς «μυθογραφικῆς» παράδοσης σὲ συγκροτημένο Volksbuch μὲ συγκεκριμένα κείμενα (*Βίος καὶ Μύθοι Αἰσώπου*, ἄλλα Αἰσωπικά, *Μύθοι Συντίπα*, *Συντίπας*, *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης*) συστηματοποιήθηκαν ἀπὸ τὸν E. B. Perry, «The Text Tradition of the Greek Life of Aesop», *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 64 (1933) 198 - 244· *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop*, Hartford, Pa., 1936· *Aesopica*, ὅ.π., σημ. 20.

Διευκρινίσεις γιὰ τὴ χειρόγραφη παράδοση τοῦ *Συντίπα* βλ. καὶ στὶς ἐργασίες τῶν Παπαδημητρίου, ὅ.π., σημ. 19, σσ. 43, 56, Sjöberg, ὅ.π., σημ. 19, σσ. 31, 124, 130.

41. Βλ. παραπάνω, σημ. 38, 40.

42. Βλ. Perry, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, σ. 59, σημ. 118. Γιὰ τὴν πολὺ μεγαλύτερη χειρόγραφη διάδοση τοῦ *Στεφανίτη καὶ Ἰχνηλάτη* βλ. Παπαδημητρίου, Sjöberg, ὅ.π., σημ. 19, καὶ N. Eideneier, «Δύο μύθοι τοῦ 'Στεφανίτη καὶ Ἰχνηλάτη'», *Ἑλληνικὰ* 20 (1967) 430 - 5.

τὸ χφ Ἰβήρων 205, ἀνήκει στὰ χφφ ποὺ παραδίδουν τὴ Μετάφραση Ἀνδρεόπουλου. Ἡ Retractatio παραδίδεται σὲ ἕνα ἀκόμη χφ, Λαύρας I 107. Τὸ χφ Βλατάδων 65, ποὺ διασώζει κείμενο μιᾶς ἀπὸ τὶς Μεταβυζαντινὲς Μεταφράσεις, παρουσιάζει πρόλογο ποὺ ἀνήκει στὴν παράδοση τῶν χφφ τῆς Retractatio· χρειάζεται, ἑπομένως, νὰ διερευνηθεῖ καλύτερα ἡ ἐνδιάμεση θέση του μέσα στὴ γνωστὴ χειρόγραφη παράδοση.

Μποροῦμε σήμερα νὰ δώσουμε μιὰ βελτιωμένη καταγραφὴ τῶν γνωστῶν χφφ τοῦ *Συντίπα*[43]:

Μετάφραση Ἀνδρεόπουλου, χφφ 6 (ἀπὸ τὸν 14. ὡς τὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ 17. αἰ.): Mosquensis gr. 436 (Vladimir 298), ff. 251^{v} - 303^{v}. Monacensis gr. 525, ff. 51^{r} - 65^{v}. Vaticanus gr. 335, ff. 58^{r} - 116^{v}. Vindobonensis philol. gr. 173, ff. 198^{r} - 243^{v}. Vindobonensis philol. gr. 166, ff. 166^{v} - 227^{r}. Ἰβήρων 205 (Athous 4325), ff. 97^{r} - 150^{r}.

Retractatio, χφφ 8 (ἀπὸ τὸν 15. ὡς τὸν 17. αἰ.): Sinaiticus gr. 1208, ff. 1^{r} - 143^{v}. Parisinus gr. 2912, ff. 1^{r} - 195^{v}. Parisinus suppl. gr. 105, ff. 79^{r} - 178^{v}. Vindobonensis hist. gr. 120, ff. 1^{r} - 99^{v}. Urbanensis gr. 3, ff. 1^{r} - 68^{r}. Hierosolymitanus gr. 208, ff. 150^{r} - 199^{r}. Κουτλουμουσίου 220 (Athous 3293), ff. 238^{r} - 319^{v}. Λαύρας I 107 (1191), ff. 44^{r} - 115^{v}.

Μεταβυζαντινὲς Μεταφράσεις, χφφ 8 (ἀπὸ τὸν 16. καὶ 17. αἰ.): Vaticanus misc. gr. 1759, ff. 307^{r} - 341^{r}. Λαύρας K 8 (1295), ff. 1^{r} - 125^{v}. Διονυσίου 352 (Athous 3886), ff. 1^{r} - 48^{v}. Dresdensis gr. Da. 33, ff. 1^{r} - 111^{v}. Βλατάδων 65, ff. 82^{v} - 151^{r}. Ἰβήρων 502 (Athus 4622), ff. 75^{r} - 128^{v}. Harleianus gr. 5560, ff. 1^{r} - 70^{r}. Ἰβήρων 383 (Athous 4503), ff. 400^{r} - 470^{v}.

Πολλὰ μένουν νὰ γίνουν καὶ στὸν τομέα τῆς συστηματικῆς ἀντιβολῆς καὶ σύγκρισης τῶν χφφ. Οἱ διεξοδικότερες παρατηρήσεις τῶν J. - N.[44], Perry[45] καὶ Oldfather - Madden[46] ἀφοροῦν ἐλάχιστο τμῆμα τῆς χειρόγραφης παρά-

43. Δὲν περιλαμβάνονται στὴν καταγραφὴ αὐτὴ τὸ χφ Strassburgensis gr. 5, ποὺ λανθάνει σήμερα, καὶ τὸ χφ Marcianus gr. 605, τὸ ὁποῖο, σύμφωνα μὲ παλαιότερες (ἐσφαλμένες;) πληροφορίες ἐρευνητῶν, παρουσιάζεται νὰ περιέχει κείμενο τοῦ *Συντίπα* (ff. 264 - 312· βλ. Krumbacher, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, σ. 893).

Ὕστερα ἀπὸ αὐτοψία τῶν χφφ, ἢ ἔλεγχο φωτογραφιῶν τους, διορθώνονται ἐδῶ σιωπηρὰ καὶ ὁρισμένες ἀνακρίβειες προηγούμενων καταγραφῶν ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀρίθμηση τῶν φύλλων τῶν χφφ.

44. Βλ. J. - N., σ. I κ.ἑ.

45. Βλ. Perry, ὅ.π., σημ. 42. Μὲ πρωτοβουλία τοῦ Perry εἶχε ἀρχίσει, χωρὶς τελικὰ νὰ ὁλοκληρωθεῖ, συγκέντρωση μικροφωτογραφιῶν χφφ καὶ ἄλλου βοηθητικοῦ ὑλικοῦ στὸ Πανεπιστήμιο τοῦ Illinois (Urbana), μὲ σκοπὸ νέα ἔκδοση, τουλάχιστο τῆς Μετάφρασης Ἀνδρεόπουλου· βλ. Perry, Canart, ὅ.π., σημ. 38.

46. Βλ. W. A. Oldfather - M. Madden, «The Urbana Manuscript of Syntipas», *Speculum* 2 (1927) 473 - 5. Στὴ βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ ἴδιου Πανεπιστημίου ὑπάρχει καὶ χειρό-

δοσης τῶν δύο βυζαντινῶν μορφῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρουσιάζουν ἀρκετὲς ἀτέλειες. Ἔτσι, π.χ., ἡ ἔρευνά μου δείχνει ὅτι οἱ ἀρχικὲς παρατηρήσεις τῶν Oldfather-Madden γιὰ τὸ χφ Urbanensis gr. 3 τῆς Retractatio χρειάζονται ἀναθεώρηση σὲ πολλὰ σημεῖα, ἢ συμπληρώσεις: (1) Τὸ χφ ἀνήκει στὴν ἴδια παράδοση μὲ τὰ χφφ Parisinus gr. 2912 καὶ Vindobonensis hist. gr. 120, καὶ δὲν συγγενεύει περισσότερο μὲ τὸ δεύτερο· ἡ ἐσφαλμένη αὐτὴ ἐντύπωση ὀφείλεται ἴσως σὲ ἀτέλειες τοῦ κριτικοῦ ὑπομνήματος τῆς ἔκδοσης J. - N.[47] (2) Ἀπομακρύνεται ἀπὸ τὴν παράδοση τῆς Μετάφρασης Ἀνδρεόπουλου σὲ πολὺ περισσότερα σημεῖα ἀπὸ ὅτι τὰ προηγούμενα δύο χφφ, καὶ γενικὰ παραδίδει κείμενο λιγότερο ἀξιόπιστο[48]. (3) Ἀπομακρύνεται σὲ ἀρκετὰ σημεῖα ἀπὸ τὰ περισσότερα ἄλλα χφφ τῆς Retractatio, κυρίως μὲ παραλείψεις καὶ μεταθέσεις λέξεων ἢ διαφορετικὲς μεμονωμένες γραφές.

Στὸ ἐντελῶς ἀδιερεύνητο ζήτημα τῆς σχέσης τῶν χφφ τῶν Μεταβυζαντινῶν Μεταφράσεων μεταξύ τους πολὺ λίγα πράγματα μποροῦν νὰ εἰπωθοῦν γιὰ τὴν ὥρα[49]. Ὁρισμένες πρῶτες παρατηρήσεις μου δείχνουν, π.χ., ὅτι τὰ χφφ ποὺ σχετίζονται μὲ τὸν Ρεσινό, Vaticanus gr. 1759, Λαύρας Κ 8, παρουσιάζουν μάλλον τὸ ἀναλυτικότερο καὶ λαϊκότερο κείμενο τῶν μεταβυζαντινῶν μορφῶν· ὅτι τὸ χφ Dresdensis gr. Da. 33 ἀντιπροσωπεύει διαφορετικὴ τάση καὶ παράδοση· ὅτι τὸ χφ Ἰβήρων 502 παρέχει κείμενο πολὺ συγγενικὸ μὲ τὸ κείμενο τοῦ ἔντυπου *Μυθολογικοῦ Συντίπα*.

3. Ἡ ἔντυπη παράδοση τοῦ *Συντίπα* παρουσιάζει πολὺ μεγαλύτερη διάδοση ἀπὸ ἐκείνη ποὺ ἔχει ἐπισημανθεῖ ὡς σήμερα ἀπὸ τὴν ἔρευνα. Χρειάζεται νὰ σημειωθεῖ καὶ ἐδῶ ἡ χρόνια ἀνεπάρκεια τῆς βυζαντινολογικῆς ἐπιστήμης στὴ βιβλιογραφικὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐσιαστικὴ κάλυψη τῆς συνέχισης καὶ ἐπιβίωσης ἔργων τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἐποχῆς στὰ νεότερα χρόνια· συχνὰ ἀγνοοῦνται ἢ μένουν ἀθησαύριστες γνωστὲς παλαιότερες διαπιστώσεις, μὲ ἀποτέλεσμα νὰ μὴν εἶναι δυνατὴ ἡ ὁλοκληρωμένη ἀντιμετώπιση μιᾶς ἑνιαίας παράδοσης (ἀκόμη καὶ σὲ πρόσφατα, ἔγκυρα γραμματολογικὰ ἔργα ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς

γραφη ἀναλυτικὴ ἀντιβολή: M. Madden, *Collation of U., the Urbana Ms. of Syntipas*, 1926, σελ. 129.

47. Τὰ «κοινὰ λάθη» δὲν ἐνισχύουν τὴν ἄποψη τῶν Oldfather, Madden. Παράλληλα, ὑπάρχουν χωρία ὅπου τὸ χφ Urbanensis gr. 3 συμφωνεῖ μὲ τὸ χφ Parisinus gr. 2912 καὶ ὄχι μὲ τὸ χφ Vindobonensis hist. gr. 120 (π.χ. J. - N. 12^{19}, 18^{28}, 24^{23}, 24^{24}, 31^{25}, 36^{21}, 51^{16}, 83^{30}, 86^{19}, 128^{17}), καὶ χωρία ὅπου συμβαίνει τὸ ἀντίθετο (π.χ. J. - N. 20^{22}, 80^{20}, 81^{25}, 83^{19}, 104^{20}, 107^{22}, 120^{14}).

48. Ἐνδιαφέρουσες ἀποκλίσεις τοῦ χφ ἀπὸ τὴν παράδοση τῆς Μετάφρασης Ἀνδρεόπουλου καὶ τῆς Retractatio, στὰ χωρία: J. - N. 83^{26}, 86^{20}, 114^{16}, 120^{26}, 124^{17-8}, 128^{12}.

Ἀπὸ τὶς 25 γραφὲς τοῦ χφ ποὺ, κατὰ τοὺς Oldfather, Madden, ἐπιβεβαιώνουν διορθώσεις ἢ εἰκασίες προηγούμενων ἐκδοτῶν, μόνον οἱ μισὲς εἶναι ἄξιες λόγου (οἱ ὑπόλοιπες ἀφοροῦν ἁπλὲς ὀρθογραφικὲς συμπτώσεις).

49. Βλ. τὶς ἐντελῶς σύντομες παρατηρήσεις τῶν Perry, Canart, ὅ.π., σημ. 38.

ἔντυπης διάδοσης τοῦ *Συντίπα* ἀνάγεται μόλις στὰ 1805[50]). Οἱ ἐλλείψεις αὐτὲς μποροῦν νὰ ἀντιμετωπιστοῦν μόνο μὲ συντονισμὸ τῆς βυζαντινολογικῆς μὲ τὴν καθαυτὸ νεοελληνικὴ βιβλιογραφικὴ καὶ γραμματολογικὴ ἔρευνα, ποὺ ἔχει κάνει σημαντικὲς προόδους μέσα στὴν τελευταία δεκαετία[51].

Μποροῦμε νὰ δώσουμε ἐδῶ μιὰ πρώτη καταγραφὴ τῶν βιβλιογραφημένων ἢ γνωστῶν ἐκδόσεων τοῦ *Συντίπα* ὡς τὸ τέλος τοῦ 19. αἰ.:

Μυθολογικὸν Συντίπα τοῦ Φιλοσόφου, ἐκδόσεις 24(;): Βενετία 1744, 1755(;), 1765, 1765 ἢ 1766(;), 1783, 1790, 1804, 1805, 1815, 1817, 1820, 1832, 1836, 1848, 1849, 1851, 1858, 1864, 1865, 1875, 1881, Ἀθήνα 1882, 1887, 1890(;)[52].

Στὴν παραπάνω σειρὰ πρέπει νὰ ἐξακριβωθεῖ ἡ ὕπαρξη τῆς ἔκδοσης τοῦ 1755 (διαθέτουμε μόνο χειρόγραφο, ποὺ εἶναι ἴσως ἀπόγραφο ἔκδοσης τοῦ ἔτους αὐτοῦ)[53] καὶ τῆς ἔκδοσης τοῦ 1765 ἢ 1766 (Βενετία, Θεοδοσίου· ἡ πληροφορία εἶναι μόνο ἔμμεση)[54], καθὼς καὶ ἡ χρονολογία τῆς ἔκδοσης τοῦ

50. Βλ., π.χ., Beck, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, σ. 48· ἡ ἔκδοση τοῦ 1805 εἶναι, ἴσως, μόλις ἡ 8. μαρτυρημένη. Ἡ ἔκδοση τοῦ 1744 εἶχε ἐπισημανθεῖ ἤδη ἀπὸ τὸν M. Gaster. *Literatura populară romāna*, Bucureşti 1883, σ. 64 κ.ά.· τὸ ἄρθρο τοῦ Ν.Γ. Πολίτη (1877), ὅ.π., σημ. 30, σ. 433, κατέγραφε, ὡς παλαιότερη, τὴν ἔκδοση τοῦ 1790 (βλ. καὶ Chauvin, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, σ. 6).

51. Μὲ σταθμὸ τὴν ἐργασία τοῦ Φ.Η. Ἠλιού, *Προσθῆκες στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Βιβλιογραφία. Α. Τὰ βιβλιογραφικὰ κατάλοιπα τοῦ É. Legrand καὶ τοῦ H. Pernot (1515 - 1799)*, Ἀθ. 1973 (ἐκεῖ, οἱ πληροφορίες γιὰ τὸ *Μυθολογικὸν Συντίπα* κυρίως στὶς σσ. 152, 163 - 4, 323 - 4). Γιὰ τὶς νεότερες βιβλιογραφικὲς ἐργασίες χρήσιμα τὰ σχετικὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ Π. Δ. Μαστροδημήτρη, *Εἰσαγωγὴ στὴ Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία*, Ἀθ. ³1978, σ. 203 - 10, καὶ τοῦ Κέντρου Νεοελληνικῶν Ἐρευνῶν Ἐθνικοῦ Ἱδρύματος Ἐρευνῶν, *Ἔκθεση Εἰκοσαετίας 1960 - 1980*, Ἀθ. 1980.

52. Ἀπὸ τὶς ἐκδόσεις ὡς τὸ 1863 ἀβιβλιογράφητη εἶναι ἡ ἔκδοση τοῦ 1765 (Βενετία, Βόρτολις)· πρόκειται νὰ τὴν παρουσιάσω σὲ ἰδιαίτερο δημοσίευμα. Ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἐκδόσεων ἀπὸ τὸ 1864 κ.ἑ. ἀπαντοῦν καὶ στὶς ἑξῆς βιβλιοθῆκες: 1864, 1865 (Marciana), 1875, 1881 (Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη), 1882, 1890 (British Library), 1887 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Βιβλιοθήκη Leiden).

Ἡ ἔκδοση τοῦ 1848 ἔχει ἀνατυπωθεῖ φωτοτσιγκογραφικά: *Μυθολογικὸν Συντίπα τοῦ Φιλοσόφου τὰ πλεῖστα περίεργον, ἐκ τῆς περσικῆς γλώσσης μεταφρασθέν*, ἐκδ. «Παϊρίδη», Ἀθ. 1972, σελ. 80.

Ἀνατύπωση τῆς πρώτης γνωστῆς ἔκδοσης ἔχουν ἀναγγείλει οἱ ἐκδ. «Ἑρμῆς», Ἀθήνα.

53. Δὲν εἶναι βέβαιο ἂν πρόκειται γιὰ ἀπόγραφο ἀπὸ ἔκδοση τοῦ 1755 ἢ γιὰ ἀπόγραφο τοῦ 1755, ποὺ ἀντιγράφει κάποια παλαιότερη βενετικὴ ἔκδοση· ἀσαφὴς ἡ σχετικὴ περιγραφὴ τοῦ Α. Παπαδόπουλου-Κεραμέα, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, τ. 1, Πετρούπολη 1891, ἀριθ. 516, σ. 463.

54. Προέρχεται ἀπὸ ἔρευνά μου στὸ Κρατικὸ Ἀρχεῖο τῆς Βενετίας (ASV), σειρὰ Riformatori dello Studio di Padova, Mandati per licenze Stampe 1759 - 1768, filza 341, ἡμερομ. 18.9.1765. Ἡ ἔκδοση προσγράφεται ἐκεῖ στὸ τυπογραφεῖο Θεοδοσίου· πρόκειται γιὰ ἔκδοση διαφορετικὴ ἀπὸ τὴν ἔκδοση Βόρτολι τοῦ 1765 (βλ. παραπάνω, σημ. 52);

1890 (δίνεται μὲ ἀμφιβολία στὸν κατάλογο τῆς βιβλιοθήκης ποὺ διαθέτει τὴν ἔκδοση)[55].

Ὁπωσδήποτε, πάντως, στὸν συνολικὸ ἀριθμὸ χρειάζεται νὰ προστεθοῦν καὶ ἐκδόσεις ἀχρονολόγητες[56], ἢ καὶ ἄλλες ποὺ εἶναι μόνο ἔμμεσα καὶ χωρὶς χρονολογικὴ ἀκρίβεια γνωστές: ἐνδείξεις ἀπαντοῦν σὲ καταλόγους τυπογραφείων τῆς Βενετίας τῶν χρόνων 1720, 1730, 1737, 1740, 1746, 1752, 1755, 1760, 1766, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἀθήνας τῶν χρόνων 1901, 1904, 1905[57]. Χρειάζεται, ἐπίσης, γιὰ τὴν ἀνίχνευση τῆς πρώτης ἔντυπης ἔκδοσης, ἢ πιθανῶν ἐκδόσεων τοῦ 17. αἰ., νὰ γίνει συστηματικὴ διερεύνηση τῶν ἐνδείξεων τῆς λογοκρισίας στὸ Κρατικὸ Ἀρχεῖο τῆς Βενετίας· σχετικὴ ἐπιτόπια ἔρευνά μου γιὰ τὰ χρόνια 1697 - 1725 ἔμεινε ἄκαρπη, δὲν ἀποκλείεται ὅμως νὰ βρεθοῦν στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴν περίοδο πρὶν ἀπὸ τὸ 1697[58].

4. Ἡ ἐξέταση τῶν νεότερων φιλολογικῶν ἐκδόσεων δείχνει ἀνάγλυφα, ἐπίσης, τὴν ἐρευνητική μας καθυστέρηση. Ἡ πληρέστερη ὡς σήμερα ἔκδοση J. - N. (1912) λαμβάνει ὑπόψη 6 ἀπὸ τὰ γνωστὰ χφφ τῶν βυζαντινῶν μορφῶν[59], τὶς ὁποῖες καὶ μόνο ἐκδίδει, ἐνῷ ἡ παλαιότερη ἔκδοση Eberhard (1872) δημοσιεύει καὶ ἀποσπάσματα ἑνὸς ἀπὸ τὰ χφφ τῶν Μεταβυζαντινῶν Μεταφράσεων (Dresdensis gr. Da. 33)[60], καὶ ἡ μετάφραση τοῦ ἀραβικοῦ κειμένου τῶν *Ἑφτὰ Βεζίρηδων* ἀπὸ τὸν Τρικογλίδη (1923) ἀναδημοσιεύει ἁπλῶς, γιὰ συγκριτικοὺς λόγους, τμήματα τῆς Ἔντυπης Μετάφρασης τοῦ *Μυθολογικοῦ Συντίπα*[61].

55. Βλ. *British Museum, General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1955*, ἀριθ. 753. a. 71.

56. Ὅπως, π.χ., τὸ *Μυθολογικὸν Συντίπα. . .*, βιβλιοπ. Μιχ. Σαλιβέρου, Ἀθ., σελ. 64 (Βιβλιοθήκη Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης), πιθανότατα τῆς πρώτης δεκαετίας τοῦ αἰώνα μας.

57. Οἱ πληροφορίες γιὰ τὶς βενετικὲς ἐκδόσεις, στοῦ Ἠλιοὺ, ὅ.π., σημ. 51, σ. 164· γιὰ τὶς νεότερες ἀθηναϊκές, στοὺς βιβλιοπωλικοὺς καταλόγους τοῦ Γ.Δ. Φέξη (ἀνάδοχου τοῦ τυπογραφείου «Φοῖνιξ»), ἀπὸ τὸν Νοέμβριο 1901, Ἰανουάριο 1904, Μάιο 1905. Ἄγνωστο πῶς καὶ πότε ἀραιώνουν καὶ παύουν οἱ νεότερες λαϊκὲς ἀθηναϊκὲς ἐκδόσεις· ὁ Τρικογλίδης, ὅ.π., σημ. 37, σ. η', σημειώνει, πάντως, ὅτι στὴν ἐποχή του (1923) οἱ ἐκδόσεις αὐτὲς εἶναι ἐντελῶς ἐξαντλημένες.

58. Ἡ ἐξέταση ἔγινε στὸ Κρατικὸ Ἀρχεῖο τῆς Βενετίας τὸν Σεπτ. 1980, καὶ κάλυψε τὶς filze 290 κ.ἑ. Προέκυψαν νέα στοιχεῖα γιὰ λανθάνουσες ἐκδόσεις ἄλλων ἔργων, ποὺ θὰ ἀνακοινωθοῦν σὲ ἰδιαίτερο δημοσίευμα.

59. Τρία τῆς Μετάφρασης Ἀνδρεόπουλου: Mosquensis gr. 436, Monacensis gr. 525, Vaticanus gr. 335, καὶ τρία τῆς Retractatio: Parisinus gr. 2912, Parisinus suppl. gr. 105, Vindobonensis hist. gr. 120.

Ἡ Retractatio ἐπανεκδίδεται ἀπὸ τὶς παλαιότερες φιλολογικὲς ἐκδόσεις, χωρὶς νέα σύγκριση μὲ τὰ χφφ.

60. Ὅ.π., σημ. 9.

61. Ὅ.π., σημ. 37.

Σὲ μιὰ νέα ἐκδοτικὴ φάση εἶναι ἀπαραίτητο νὰ ἀξιοποιηθεῖ τὸ σύνολο τῆς γνωστῆς χειρόγραφης καὶ ἔντυπης παράδοσης: νέα, αὐθεντικότερη ἔκδοση τῆς Μετάφρασης Ἀνδρεόπουλου καὶ τῆς Retractatio, ὁλοκληρωμένη κριτικὴ ἔκδοση τῶν Χειρόγραφων Μεταβυζαντινῶν Μεταφράσεων καὶ διορθωμένη φιλολογικὴ ἔκδοση τῆς Ἔντυπης Μετάφρασης. Πέρα ἀπὸ τὸν ἀπαραίτητο αὐτὸν ὅρο, πρέπει νὰ παρατηρηθεῖ ὅτι ἡ ἔκδοση J. - N., κλασικὴ γιὰ τὴν ἐποχή της, παρουσιάζει, παρὰ τὴν ἀναμφισβήτητη ἀξία της, ἐλλείψεις ποὺ δὲν ἔχουν ἐπισημανθεῖ ὡς σήμερα[62]. Εἰδικότερα στὸ κείμενο τῆς Retractatio, ποὺ ἐκδίδεται ἁπλῶς ὡς «μάρτυρας» τῆς Μετάφρασης Ἀνδρεόπουλου, καὶ μόνον ἡ παραβολὴ τῆς ἔκδοσης μὲ τὰ δύο παρισινὰ χφφ φανερώνει τὴ διαιώνιση ἐσφαλμένων ἀναγνώσεων, λάθη στὸ ὑπόμνημα, ἐλλιπὴ ἀπόδοση γραφῶν στὰ χφφ[63], ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴ δυνατότητα ἀρκετῶν βελτιώσεων τοῦ κειμένου[64].

5. Ἀκόμη περισσότερα μένει νὰ γίνουν στοὺς τομεῖς τῆς γλωσσικῆς καὶ ἐκφραστικῆς σύγκρισης καὶ ἀξιολόγησης τῶν δύο πρώτων βυζαντινῶν μορφῶν — καί, βέβαια, τὰ πάντα γιὰ τὶς Χειρόγραφες Μεταβυζαντινὲς Μεταφράσεις καὶ τὴν Ἔντυπη Μετάφραση.

Ὁρισμένες πρῶτες παρατηρήσεις μου ὁδηγοῦν στὸ συμπέρασμα ὅτι πολλὰ ἀπὸ τὰ δείγματα «γλωσσικῆς ἁπλούστευσης» τῆς Retractatio ἀπέναντι στὴ Μετάφραση Ἀνδρεόπουλου ἀποτελοῦν εἴτε ἁπλῶς παράλληλες ἐκφραστικὲς δυνατότητες ποὺ μπορεῖ καὶ νὰ συνυπάρχουν χρονικὰ[65] εἴτε διαφορετικὲς τρο-

62. Ὁ Perry, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, σ. 60, σημ. 121, πίστευε ὅτι καὶ ἡ νέα ἔκδοση τῆς Μετάφρασης Ἀνδρεόπουλου, ποὺ ἑτοίμαζε, δὲν θὰ μποροῦσε νὰ βελτιώσει αἰσθητὰ τὴν ἔκδοση J. - N. Ἡ ἐκτίμησή του χρειάζεται μάλλον νὰ ἀναθεωρηθεῖ· ὁπωσδήποτε, ὅμως, δὲν ἰσχύει γιὰ τὸ κείμενο τῆς Retractatio, ὅπου ἡ ἔκδοση τοῦ 1912 ὑστερεῖ ἀναμφισβήτητα. Βλ. καὶ E. Kurtz, *BZ* 22 (1913) 158 - 60 (ὅπου, πάντως, ἐπισημαίνονται μόνον ὀρθογραφικὲς ἀτέλειες).

63. Ἰδιαίτερα στὸ χφ Parisinus suppl. gr. 105, ἀλλὰ καὶ στὸ χφ Parisinus gr. 2912· Λίγες ἀπὸ τὶς σημαντικότερες περιπτώσεις: J. - N. 8^{23}, $11^{27,28,30}$, 12^{18}, 15^{31}, 16^{25}, 17^{19}, 20^{22}, 26^{18}, $28^{13,17}$, 29^{18}, $31^{19,27,30}$, 33^{26}, 35^{35}, 37^{19}, 40^{32}, $48^{26,28}$, 51^{30}, 58^{24}, 60^{21}, 62^{20}, $63^{17,22}$, 64^{29}, $68^{9,19,27,33}$, 72^{29}, 74^{22}, $75^{19,21}$, 78^{26}, 80^{26}, $82^{19,23}$, 83^{30}, 88^{15}, $89^{18,22}$, $90^{16,19}$, $91^{23,24}$, 92^{26}, 95^{26}, $98^{17,21,23}$, 99^{19}, 100^{15}, 105^{26}, $106^{17,18}$, 110^{19}, $111^{11,13,16}$, 112^{25}, 113^{19}, 114^{19}, 115^{18}, 116^{14}, 117^{27}, $120^{14,22,26}$, 122^{21}, 123^{19}.

64. Στὰ ἀκόλουθα, π.χ., σημεῖα: J. - N. 8^{23} (*αὐτῷ ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ*), 13^{23} (*ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἀντὶ καὶ γυνή*), 24^{23} (*τῷ δούλῳ τούτῳ ἀντὶ τῷ δούλῳ*), 31^{25} (*ἵππος μοι ἐλάκτισε καὶ πέπτωκα ἀντὶ ἵππος μοι ἐλάκτισε*), 33^{30} (*διηπόρει τὸ τὶ ἀντὶ διηπορεῖτο τί*), 36^{21} (*παχὺς ἅμα καὶ εὐμεγέθης ἀντὶ ἅμα καὶ εὐμεγέθης*), 41^{27} (*ἐφαψαμένη ἀντὶ ἁψαμένη*), 43^{27} (*τὸν ζῶντα ἀντὶ ζῶντα*), 45^{26} (*παραγγείλας αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἀντὶ παραγγείλας αὐτῷ*), 47^{28} (*τούτῳ ἀντὶ οὕτως*), 49^{20} (*ἤκουσα πὼς ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀντὶ ἤκουσα πῶς ἀνήρ*), 51^{16} (*σκεπάσματα ρούχου ἀντὶ σκεπάσματι ροῦχον*), 52^{32} (*τὸ παχύτερον ἀντὶ τὸ πατερόν*), 55^{25} (*ἐσύναζεν ἀντὶ ἐσύναξεν*), 60^{19} (*θανάτῳ κακῷ ἀντὶ θανάτῳ*), 65^{20} (*μὴ σπουδάζῃς ἀντὶ μὴ σπούδαζε*), 68^{27} (*σιδηραῖς ἀντὶ σιδεραῖς*), 83^{19} (*ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀντὶ ἐπειδὴ δέ*), 101^{26} (*ταῦτα ἀντὶ αὐτά*), κ.ἄ.

65. Αὐτὸ συμβαίνει, π.χ., μὲ τὰ περισσότερα ἀπὸ τὰ παράλληλα χωρία ποὺ συζητᾶ ἡ εἰσαγωγὴ τῆς ἔκδοσης J. - N., σ. VI κ.ἑ. Ἡ παράλληλη σύγκριση μὲ τὰ ἀντίστοιχα μετα-

πὲς τοῦ μεταφραστικοῦ ὕφους, καὶ δὲν πρέπει νὰ θεωροῦνται ὁπωσδήποτε ὡς σημεῖα συνειδητῆς ἐκλαΐκευσης, σκόπιμης ἁπλοποίησης ἢ καὶ παρανόησης[66]· τὰ σχετικὰ προβλήματα χρειάζεται νὰ ξεκαθαριστοῦν μὲ πολλὴ προσοχή, καὶ μόνο μιὰ συστηματικότερη ἐξέταση μπορεῖ νὰ δώσει τὴν πραγματικὴ εἰκόνα τῆς γλωσσικῆς καὶ ἐκφραστικῆς ἀντιπαράθεσης τῶν δύο μορφῶν καὶ τὶς σταθερὲς ποὺ τὶς διέπουν. Τὸ ἴδιο ἰσχύει καὶ γιὰ ὁρισμένες μεμονωμένες ἐκφράσεις-συνδυασμοὺς λέξεων ποὺ ἀπαντοῦν καὶ στὶς δύο βυζαντινὲς μορφὲς καὶ θεωρήθηκε ὅτι ἀποδίδουν ἄμεσα τὸ συριακὸ πρότυπο τῆς Μετάφρασης Ἀνδρεόπουλου (ὅπως, π.χ., οἱ χρονικοὶ προσδιορισμοὶ *(ἐν) μιᾷ (γοῦν) τῶν ἡμερῶν/νυκτῶν*, κ.ἄ.)[67], ἢ γιὰ ἄλλες ἐκφράσεις καὶ τύπους κοινοὺς στὸν *Συντίπα* καὶ τοὺς *Μύθους Συντίπα*, ποὺ θεωρήθηκε ὅτι ἐνισχύουν τὴν ἀπόδοση τῆς μετάφρασης τῶν *Μύθων Συντίπα* στὸν Ἀνδρεόπουλο (ὅπως, π.χ., τῆς ἐπιρρηματικῆς χρήσης τῆς μετοχῆς *προλαβών, -οῦσα, -όν*, τῶν ἐπιρρημάτων *τὰ μέγιστα, ὁμοθυμαδόν*, τῆς ἔκφρασης *οὗτος [ὁ μύθος, ὁ λόγος] δηλοῖ*, κ.ἄ.)[68]· ἀλλὰ ἀνάλογες ἐκφράσεις, ὅταν δὲν ἀνάγονται σὲ γενικότερη ἐπίδραση τῆς ὄψιμης Κοινῆς, ἀποτελοῦν εἴτε κοινοὺς τόπους σὲ πολλὰ λόγια καὶ δημώδη βυζαντινὰ κείμενα[69] εἴτε ἐντελῶς συνηθισμένες χρήσεις, ποὺ δὲν μποροῦν νὰ προσγράφονται στὸ ἰδιαίτερο «προσωπικὸ» λεξιλόγιο τῶν μεταφραστῶν.

Ἀνάλογα χρειάζεται νὰ ἀντιμετωπιστεῖ τὸ ζήτημα τῆς συντόμευσης ἢ ἀνάπτυξης, στὴ Retractatio, ὁρισμένων χωρίων τῆς Μετάφρασης Ἀνδρεόπουλου· π.χ., γιὰ τὴ δεύτερη περίπτωση, ἡ ἔντονα ἀναλυτικότερη, συχνὰ περιφραστικὴ δομὴ τῆς περιόδου καὶ τῆς πρότασης[70], καὶ οἱ ἐπαναλήψεις συνώνυμων λέξεων καὶ ἐκφράσεων. Ἡ διαδικασία αὐτὴ παρέχει κάποτε ἀνεπαίσθητους, ἄλλοτε ὅμως σημαντικοὺς δεῖκτες ὕφους καὶ δομῆς τοῦ λόγου, δὲν ἀποτελεῖ, πάντως, σὲ ὅλες τὶς περιπτώσεις δεῖγμα ἄτεχνης, πλατειαστικῆς ἢ βαρβαρικῆς μεταφραστικῆς ἐκτροπῆς[71], ἀλλὰ ἀναγκαῖο ἀποτέλεσμα τῆς προγραμματικὰ ἀναλυτικῆς καὶ ἐκλαϊκευτικῆς τάσης τῆς Retractatio[72], ἢ τῆς

φρασμένα χωρία τῆς συριακῆς σύνταξης ἔχει ἁπλῶς ἐνδεικτικὴ σημασία· δὲν μπορεῖ νὰ χρησιμοποιεῖται γιὰ τὴν ἀξιολόγηση τῆς νοηματικῆς καὶ ἐκφραστικῆς σαφήνειας ἢ πληρότητας τῶν δύο βυζαντινῶν μορφῶν.

66. Βλ. J. - N., σ. VI κ.ἑ.· Perry, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, σ. 60, σημ. 119.

67. Βλ. Perry, ὅ.π., σημ. 20, σ. 515 κ.ἑ.

68. Βλ. Perry, ὅ.π., σημ. 20, σ. 515 κ.ἑ.

69. Πρβ., π.χ., γιὰ τὴν ἔκφραση *(ἐν) μιᾷ (γοῦν) τῶν ἡμερῶν/νυκτῶν* καὶ τὶς παράλληλές της, τὶς παρατηρήσεις στὴν ἐργασία μου *Κριτικὴ Ἔκδοση τῆς Ἱστορίας Πτωχολέοντος. Θέματα Ὑστεροβυζαντινῆς καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῆς Λογοτεχνίας*, Θεσσ. 1978, σ. 457, σημ. 45.

70. Βλ. ἐδῶ τὶς ὀρθὲς παρατηρήσεις τοῦ Perry, ὅ.π., σημ. 20, σ. 515 κ.ἑ.

71. Ἀπὸ τὰ χωρία τῆς Retractatio ποὺ ἐξετάζει ἡ εἰσαγωγὴ τῆς ἔκδοσης J. - N., σ. VI κ.ἑ., λίγα δικαιολογοῦν ἀνάλογα συμπεράσματα· πρβ., π.χ., J. - N. 5^{29} κ.ἑ., 42^{20}, 57^{21}, 84^{17}, 104^{17}, 108^{20}.

72. Πρβ., π.χ., J. - N. 5^{25}, 6^{29}, 8^{34}, 13^{22}, 49^{21}, 51^{25}, 82^{29}, $105^{19,31}$, 113^{16} κ.ἄ.

Στὶς περισσότερες ἄλλες περιπτώσεις πρόκειται γιὰ χρήση ἐκφράσεων ἐντελῶς συνώ-

ἀναπότρεπτης χρήσης τυπικῶν σχηματισμῶν τῆς γλώσσας τῆς ἐποχῆς[73].

6. Ἡ ἐξέταση τῆς θεματικῆς δομῆς καὶ τῆς ποιητικῆς τῶν μορφῶν τοῦ *Συντίπα* βρίσκεται ἀκόμα στὴν ἀρχή της, καὶ σὲ ὁρισμένους τομεῖς δὲν ἔχει κἂν ἀρχίσει. Μποροῦν, πάντως, νὰ διατυπωθοῦν ἐδῶ μερικὲς πρῶτες παρατηρήσεις, ποὺ συμπληρώνουν ἢ τροποποιοῦν τὶς ὡς τώρα ἐπισημάνσεις τῆς ἔρευνας.

Ἡ γνώμη ὅτι οἱ μεγαλύτερης ἔκτασης, σὲ σχέση μὲ τὴ Μετάφραση Ἀνδρεόπουλου, μεταβολὲς στὴ θεματικὴ δομὴ τῆς Retractatio (ἀλλαγὲς στὴ θεματικὴ διάταξη, νέα μοτίβα ἢ ἱστορίες)[74] ὀφείλονται ἀποκλειστικὰ σὲ «παρανοήσεις» τοῦ νεότερου παραφραστῆ δὲν πρέπει νὰ εὐσταθεῖ. Οἱ μεταβολὲς αὐτές, ἂν δὲν ἐξαρτῶνται ἀπὸ τὴ συνδρομὴ συμπληρωματικῶν πηγῶν, ὀφείλονται κυρίως στὴ γόνιμη ἐλευθερία τοῦ νέου «μεταφραστῆ» ἀπέναντι στὸ πρότυπό του, γεγονὸς ποὺ ἀποτελεῖ τὸν κανόνα καὶ ὄχι τὴν ἐξαίρεση στὰ ἔργα τῆς ἐποχῆς, ἰδιαίτερα μάλιστα στὰ δημώδη. Δὲν πρόκειται, ἄλλωστε, οὔτε γιὰ συμπτώματα «χειροτέρευσης» ἑνὸς προγενέστερου «καλύτερου» κειμένου: ὅπως καὶ ἡ ἔκφραση καὶ τὸ ὕφος, ἔτσι καὶ οἱ περισσότερες θεματικὲς διαφοροποιήσεις τῆς Retractatio δικαιώνονται τόσο ἀπὸ τὴν ἄποψη τῆς ἀφηγηματικῆς λειτουργίας καὶ λογικῆς ὅσο καὶ ἀπὸ ἄποψη αἰσθητικὴ καὶ ἐξηγοῦν τὴ διάδοση τῆς Retractatio, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀποκλειστικὴ ἐξάρτηση ὅλης τῆς μεταγενέστερης παράδοσης τοῦ ἔργου ἀπὸ αὐτήν.

Ἡ σύγκριση τῆς Retractatio μὲ τὶς Χειρόγραφες Μεταβυζαντινὲς Μεταφράσεις καὶ τὴν Ἔντυπη Μετάφραση ἀνοίγει εὐρύτερο ἀκόμη πεδίο ἔρευνας. Ἔτσι, π.χ., ἡ Ἔντυπη Μετάφραση, ἐνῶ βρίσκεται, θεματικά, στὴν ἴδια γραμμὴ τῆς παράδοσης τῆς Retractatio, παραλείπει τρεῖς ἱστορίες τῆς συλλογῆς, καθὼς καὶ τὸ τελικὸ τμῆμα τοῦ ἔργου[75]. Μένει νὰ ἐρευνηθεῖ ἂν οἱ παραλείψεις αὐτὲς

νυμων ἢ ἰσοδύναμων (π.χ. 21^{21}, 22^{20}, 24^{3-5} κ.ἄ.). Ἐπίσης, οἱ διευρύνσεις μὲ διασάφηση λέξεων εἶναι λιγότερες ἀπὸ ὅσες ἀναφέρονται στὴν εἰσαγωγὴ τῆς ἔκδοσης J. - N., σ. VI κ.ἑ.

73. Πρβ., π.χ., J. - N. 5^{30} (*μεγάλαις ἐλπίσι καὶ χρησταῖς*), 18^{34}, 38^{21} (*συνθήκας καὶ ὑποσχέσεις*), 54^{34} (*κληρονόμον καὶ διάδοχον*), 61^{31} (*ἐξαίσιον καὶ ἔξω φύσεως*), 75^{30} (*μεγιστάνους καὶ ἄρχοντας*), 89^{22} (*πενίαν καὶ συμφοράν*), 90^{18} (*τὸν ἄρχοντα τὸν ἡγεμόνα*), 95^{21} (*στροφῇ καὶ πιθανότητι*), 97^{17} (*καθηγητὴν καὶ διδάσκαλον*), κ.ἄ.

74. Πρόκειται, καταρχήν, γιὰ τὴν εἰσαγωγὴ μιᾶς νέας ἱστορίας, «ψάρια στὸ χωράφι» (J. - N. 68^{5-21}). Ἡ ἱστορία δὲν ἀπαντᾶ σὲ ἄλλες συντάξεις τοῦ *Συντίπα*, ἀπαντᾶ ὅμως σὲ συγγενεῖς συλλογὲς (*Ṭuṭi-nāme*, *Χίλιες καὶ Μία Νύχτες* κ.ἄ.· βλ. Chauvin, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, σ. 69), καθὼς καὶ σὲ νεοελληνικὰ παραμύθια (βλ. Ν.Γ. Πολίτης, ὅ.π., σημ. 30, σ. 436). Ἡ ἱστορία ἐνσωματώνεται ἀργότερα στὴ μεταγενέστερη παράδοση τοῦ *Συντίπα*.

Κατόπιν, γιὰ τὴν ἐλεύθερη ἐπεξεργασία τῶν ἱστοριῶν «σταγόνα ἀπὸ μέλι» καὶ «σιδερόπετρα» (J. - N. 28^{17} - 29^{28}, 77^{8-29}).

75. Πρόκειται, καταρχήν, γιὰ τὴν παράλειψη τῶν ἱστοριῶν «σταγόνα ἀπὸ μέλι», «τρεῖς ἐπιθυμίες», «τρίχρονο παιδὶ» (J. - N. 28^{17} - 29^{28}, 62^{23} - 65^{18}, 83^{21} - 85^{26}).

Κατόπιν, γιὰ τὴν παράλειψη τῶν τελικῶν ἐρωταποκρίσεων βασιλιᾶ - πρίγκιπα· τὸ ἔντυπο κείμενο (ὅπως καὶ ἕνας κλάδος τῆς χειρόγραφης μεταβυζαντινῆς παράδοσης, π.χ. τὸ

σχετίζονται μὲ ἀτέλειες ἢ ἰδιομορφίες τῆς χειρόγραφης παράδοσης ποὺ ὁδήγησε στὴν Ἔντυπη Μορφὴ ἢ μὲ «καταλληλότητα» τοῦ περιεχομένου τῶν μορφῶν ποὺ παραλείπονται (π.χ. μία ἀπὸ τὶς τρεῖς ἱστορίες ποὺ παραλείπονται θὰ μποροῦσε νὰ θεωρηθεῖ ὑπερβολικὰ ἄσεμνη)[76].

Ἡ ἐξέταση τῆς ποιητικῆς τοῦ ἔργου βρίσκεται ἀκόμα σὲ ἐμβρυακὸ στάδιο. Μόλις πρόσφατα, καὶ ὡς προέκταση τῆς ἐνασχόλησης μὲ τὴ σύνθεση τῆς «διήγησης-πλαισίου», τὸν «χρόνο» τῆς ἀφήγησης καὶ τὴ «γραμματική» καὶ «λογική» τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἀνάλογων μὲ τὸ *Βιβλίο τοῦ Σιντμπὰντ* συλλογῶν καὶ ἔργων, ἄρχισαν νὰ διατυπώνονται οἱ πρῶτες παρατηρήσεις γιὰ ἀνάλογα ζητήματα τῆς ποιητικῆς τῆς συλλογῆς: Grintser (1963)[77], Weinrich (1964)[78], Todorov (1969)[79], Bremond (1973)[80], Κεχαγιόγλου (1981)[81], ποὺ χρειάζεται νὰ συνεχιστοῦν καὶ νὰ συμπληρωθοῦν.

7. Τὴν ἐρευνητικὴ μερίδα τοῦ λέοντος ἐξακολουθεῖ νὰ τὴ νέμεται, σὲ διεθνὲς ἐπίπεδο, ἡ «λαογραφική» καὶ «συγκριτική» διερεύνηση τῶν συντάξεων τοῦ ἔργου, ποὺ ἡ ἀρχή της ἀνάγεται ἤδη στὸν Γάλλο ἀνατολιστὴ Pétis de la Croix, τέλη 17. - ἀρχὲς 18. αἰ. (τύποι καὶ μοτίβα· προέλευση, διάδοση καὶ μεταμορφώσεις· παράλληλα, καὶ λογοτεχνικὴ ἢ μὴ λαϊκὴ ἐκμετάλλευση τοῦ θεματικοῦ ὑλικοῦ)[82]. Παρ' ὅλα αὐτά, στὰ ποικίλα ζητήματα τῶν πηγῶν, τῶν παραλλήλων, τῆς γραμματολογικῆς τοποθέτησης καὶ τῆς τύχης τοῦ *Συντίπα*, ἡ ἐρευνητικὴ καθυστέρηση εἶναι ἰδιαίτερα σημαντική.

Κάποτε, ἡ προώθηση τῶν σχετικῶν προβλημάτων ἔχει ἐπίπτωση καὶ στὰ ἴδια τὰ προβλήματα τοῦ κειμένου. Νομίζω ὅτι ἀρκεῖ ἐδῶ ἕνα παράδειγμα:

χφ Ἰβήρων 502) σταματᾶ μὲ τὸ τέλος τῶν «δέκα κεφαλαίων τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας» (= J. - N. 121^{22}).

76. Πρόκειται γιὰ τὴν ἱστορία «τρεῖς ἐπιθυμίες». Αὐτὸ δὲν σημαίνει ὅτι καὶ ἄλλες ἱστορίες τῆς συλλογῆς δὲν παρουσιάζουν ἀνάλογα «τολμηρά» σημεῖα· βλ. καὶ J. - N., σ. XII - XIII, Chauvin, ὅ.π., σημ. 1 (ὅπου καὶ ὅλο τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ παράλληλο ὑλικό).

77. Ὅ.π., σημ. 2, passim, καὶ σ. 202 κ.ἑ.

78. Βλ. H. Weinrich, *Tempus...*, Stuttgart 1964, σ. 172 κ.ἑ., καὶ γαλλ. μετάφρ. *Le temps*, Paris 1973, σ. 163 - 6.

79. Βλ. T. Todorov, *Grammaire du Décaméron*, Hague 1969, passim.

80. Βλ. Cl. Bremond, *Logique du récit*, Paris 1973, passim.

81. Βλ. τὴν πρόσφατη ἀνακοίνωσή μου «Ἡ λογικὴ τῆς διήγησης στὰ βυζαντινὰ δημώδη ἀφηγηματικὰ κείμενα: Προβλήματα μεθόδου», *XVI. ... Byzantinistenkongress, Résumés*, ὅ.π., σημ. 25 (περίληψη).

82. Χρήσιμες σχετικὲς παρατηρήσεις διοχετεύονται συνήθως σὲ νεότερες κριτικὲς ἐκδόσεις καὶ μεταφράσεις συντάξεων τοῦ *Βιβλίου τοῦ Σιντμπάντ*, ὅπως, π.χ. : J. E. Keller, *El libro de los engaños...*, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1953, *The Book of the Wiles of Women*, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1956, σὲ εἰδικὲς μονογραφίες, ὅπως, π.χ., τοῦ Upadhyaga, ὅ.π. σημ. 1, σὲ γενικότερες ἔρευνες, ὅπως, π.χ., τοῦ Schwarzbaum, ὅ.π., σημ. 1, καὶ στὰ πλούσια λήμματα τῆς *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, Berlin 1977 κ.ἑ. (συνεχίζεται).

οἱ θεματικὲς σχέσεις τοῦ *Συντίπα* μὲ τὴ συγγενὴ ἀφηγηματικὴ συλλογὴ *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης*, καὶ οἱ κοινὲς ἱστορίες ἢ μοτίβα τῶν δύο ἔργων, ἔχουν ὑποδειχθεῖ ἀπὸ παλαιότερα[83], τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον εἶναι, ὅμως, ὅτι σὲ συγκεκριμένα χωρία γραφὲς τοῦ ἑνὸς ἔργου μποροῦν νὰ βοηθήσουν καὶ στὴν ἀποκατάσταση τοῦ κειμένου τοῦ ἄλλου ἔργου[84]· ἔτσι, π.χ., στὴν περίπτωση τῆς Μετάφρασης Ἀνδρεόπουλου καὶ στὴν ἱστορία τοῦ πιστοῦ σκύλου ποὺ σώζει τὸ παιδὶ τοῦ κυρίου του ἀπὸ τὴ θανάσιμη ἀπειλὴ ἑνὸς φιδιοῦ, τὸ ἀκόλουθο φθαρμένο χωρίο

J. - N. 46^{1} κ.ἑ.: *τοῦ δέ γε κυνὸς τῷ παιδὶ παρακαθημένου κἀκείνου ὕπνῳ κατεχομένου ὁρᾷ ὁ κύων ὄφιν τινὰ παμμεγέθη κατὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἕρποντα καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκφυλάξαι σχεδὸν ἐπειγόμενον* (Retractatio:... *καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκροφῆσαι τὸ αἷμα*· κριτικὸ ὑπόμνημα J. - N.: *αὐτὸν ἀμφιελίξαι*? metaphrasta de *ἐκθηλάξαι* (=*ἐκθηλάσαι*) cogitavisse videtur)

φωτίζεται ἀπὸ τὸ κείμενο τῆς ἀντίστοιχης ἱστορίας στὸν *Στεφανίτη καὶ Ἰχνηλάτη*, Puntoni 242^{7} κ.ἑ.: *ὑποστρέψας δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ταύτην* [= τὴν κύνα] *καθημαγμένην ἰδὼν τῷ τοῦ ὄφεως αἵματι ἐρχόμενος θύραθεν ὑπέλαβε ταύτην τὸν ἴδιον παῖδα λαφύξαι, καὶ μὴ ἀνασχόμενος...*

καὶ μπορεῖ εὔκολα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μὲ ἀσφάλεια νὰ ἀποκατασταθεῖ: γρ. *ἐκλαφύξαι*.

Ἄλλοτε, ἡ σύγκριση μὲ ἔργα ποὺ παραδίδουν ἴδια μοτίβα ἢ παρουσιάζουν ἐκφραστικὲς ἀντιστοιχίες μπορεῖ νὰ ὁδηγήσει στὴ σύνδεσή τους, ἢ στὴν καλύτερη κατανόηση ὁρισμένων σημείων τους. Καὶ ἐδῶ νομίζω ὅτι ἕνα παράδειγμα ἀρκεῖ: ἕνα ἀπὸ τὰ γνωμικὰ-παραδειγματικὰ μοτίβα ποὺ ἀπαντᾶ συνοπτικὰ στὶς περισσότερες συντάξεις τοῦ *Βιβλίου τοῦ Σιντμπάντ*, καθὼς καὶ στὶς δύο βυζαντινὲς μορφὲς τοῦ ἔργου, ἡ σύγκριση-παρομοίωση τοῦ βασιλιᾶ καὶ τοῦ περιβάλλοντός του μὲ τὴ φωτιὰ ποὺ συντηρεῖ καὶ θερμαίνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ κάποτε καίει ὅσους τὴν πλησιάζουν περισσότερο ἀπὸ ὅ,τι πρέπει[85], βρίσκεται

83. Βλ., κυρίως, Chauvin, ὅ.π., σημ. 1.

84. Ὅπως καὶ ὁ *Συντίπας*, ὁ *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης* εἶναι, ἐπίσης, ἀνέκδοτος στὴ συνολική του παράδοση (πληρέστερη ἔκδοση τῶν βυζαντινῶν μορφῶν ἐξακολουθεῖ νὰ εἶναι ἡ παλαιότερη τοῦ V. Puntoni, *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης*, Firenze 1889). Ἰδιαίτερα λίγο διερευνημένη εἶναι ἡ μεταβυζαντινὴ παράδοση καὶ οἱ νεοελληνικὲς τύχες τοῦ ἔργου, ὅπως δείχνει ἡ ἐργασία τῆς N. Eideneier, ὅ.π., σημ. 42. Εἶναι, ἑπομένως, δύσκολο γιὰ τὴν ὥρα νὰ διαπιστωθεῖ ἂν τὸ ἕνα ἔργο ἀντλεῖ ἀπὸ τὸ ἄλλο καὶ μὲ ποιὸ τρόπο, ἢ ἂν οἱ ὁμοιότητές τους ἀνάγονται σὲ κοινὲς πηγὲς ἢ καὶ τὴν πρόσθετη συνδρομὴ ἀνεξάρτητων προφορικῶν διηγήσεων· ἰδιαίτερο, πάντως, ἐνδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει ἡ διερεύνηση τῶν δύο ὁλοκληρωμένων κοινῶν ἱστοριῶν τῶν συλλογῶν, «σκύλος καὶ φίδι» καὶ «δύο περιστέρια» (J. - N. 45^{3} - 46^{12}, 55^{4} - 56^{12} — Puntoni 242^{3} - 243^{4}, 254^{14} - 256^{2}).

Γιὰ τὴν ἑλληνικὴ καὶ τὶς ξένες συντάξεις τοῦ *Στεφανίτη καὶ Ἰχνηλάτη* βλ., ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὴ βιβλιογραφία τῶν σημ. 19, 42, καί: J. - Th. Papademetriou, «The Sources and the Character of *Del Governo de' Regni*», *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 92 (1961) 425 κ.ἑ.· *Kindlers Literatur-Lexikon*, τ. 6, «Kalila wa-Dimna», Zürich 1972, σ. 5122 κ.ἑ.

85. Βλ. J. - N. 5^{4-6}, Retractatio 5^{20-21}.

ἀνεπτυγμένο στὶς ἀρχαιότερες παραλλαγὲς τῆς δημώδους ἔμμετρης νοβελιστικῆς *Ἱστορίας Πτωχολέοντος* (14. αἰ.) καὶ ἀποτελεῖ πιθανὸ τεκμήριο σχέσης τῶν πηγῶν τῶν δύο ἔργων, ἢ καὶ ἐπίδρασης τοῦ *Συντίπα* πάνω στὴν ἀνατολικῆς, ἐπίσης, προέλευσης *Ἱστορία Πτωχολέοντος*· ὁ παραλληλισμός, μάλιστα, τῶν ἀντίστοιχων χωρίων συμβάλλει στὴν καλύτερη κατανόηση τῆς προβληματικῆς σύνδεσης ποὺ ὑπάρχει, στὸ κείμενο τοῦ *Συντίπα*, ἀνάμεσα στὸ γνωμικὸ αὐτὸ στοιχεῖο καὶ τὰ συμφραζόμενά του (ἀνάγκη ἑνὸς συνετοῦ βασιλιᾶ· νὰ κρατᾶ κοντά του ἕναν (ἰατρο)φιλόσοφο, γιὰ καλὸ δικό του καὶ τῆς ἐπικράτειάς του)[86].

Τέλος, ἡ ἐξέταση τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀφηγηματικοῦ ὑλικοῦ ποὺ ἀπαντᾶ σὲ συγγενὴ ἔργα μπορεῖ κάποτε νὰ ἑρμηνεύσει ὁρισμένες παραλείψεις ἢ ἀλλαγὲς τῆς παράδοσης σὲ ἕνα ἀπὸ αὐτά. Ἕνα παράδειγμα καὶ ἐδῶ: οἱ γνωστὲς ἀπὸ τὸν *Συντίπα* ἱστορίες γιὰ τὸν παπαγάλο-καταδότη τῆς μοιχαλίδας κυρίας του[87] καὶ γιὰ τὸ βασιλόπουλο ποὺ κινδυνεύει ἀπὸ τὶς λάμιες ἐξαιτίας τοῦ αὐλικοῦ συνοδοῦ του[88] ἀπαντοῦν στὴν πρώτη εὐρωπαϊκὴ μετάφραση τῶν *Χιλίων καὶ Μίας Νυκτῶν* (A. Galland, 1704 κ.ἑ.), καὶ στὴν ἰταλική της ἀπόδοση (1722 κ.ἑ.), λείπουν ὅμως ἀπὸ τὴν πρώτη ἑλληνικὴ μετάφραση (*Ἀραβικὸν Μυθολογικόν*, Βενετία 1757-62 κ.ἑ.), ποὺ ἀντλεῖ, ὡστόσο, ὅλο τὸ πρῶτο μέρος τοῦ κειμένου της ἀπὸ τὶς ἰταλικὲς ἐκδόσεις. Πρόκειται, πιθανότατα, γιὰ παράλειψη ποὺ ὀφείλεται στὸ ὅτι, τὸ 1757, οἱ δύο ἱστορίες ἦταν γνωστὲς ἀπὸ τὸ ἤδη διαδεδομένο καὶ μὲ προγενέστερη ἔντυπη παράδοση *Μυθολογικὸν Συντίπα*· ὁ εὔστροφος Πολυχρόνης Λαμπανιτσιώτης, πρῶτος μεταφραστής, ἐκδότης καὶ ὑπεύθυνος τῆς ἐμπορικῆς ἐπιτυχίας τοῦ *Ἀραβικοῦ Μυθολογικοῦ*, δὲν μποροῦσε παρὰ νὰ λάβει σοβαρὰ ὑπόψη του τὴν ἐπικάλυψη αὐτή[89].

IV

1. Οἱ παρατηρήσεις καὶ σκέψεις ποὺ διατυπώθηκαν παραπάνω ἐπιτρέπουν, νομίζω, καὶ τὴ διαγραφὴ τῶν κύριων σύγχρονων ζητουμένων τῆς ἔρευνας γιὰ τὸν *Συντίπα*. 154 χρόνια ὕστερα ἀπὸ τὴν πρώτη φιλολογικὴ ἔκδοση τῆς Retractatio (Boissonade, 1828)[90], ποὺ μποροῦμε νὰ ποῦμε ὅτι σήμανε τὴν ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐπιστημονικῆς προσέγγισης τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ 70 χρόνια ὕστερα ἀπὸ τὴν

86. Τὸ ζήτημα ἐξετάζεται ἀναλυτικότερα στὴ διδακτορικὴ διατριβή μου, ὅ.π., σημ. 69, σσ. 117 - 8, 283 - 4.

87. Βλ. J. - N. 16^4 - 18^{10}, Retractatio 16^{21} - 18^{27}, *Μυθολογικὸν Συντίπα...*, Βενετία 1744, σ. 15 - 8 (2. διήγηση τοῦ πρώτου φιλοσόφου).

88. Βλ. J. - N. 24^{15} - 27^9, Retractatio 24^{30} - 27^{21}, *Μυθολογικὸν Συντίπα...*, Βενετία 1744, σ. 25 - 6 (2. διήγηση τῆς γυναίκας).

89. Βλ. καὶ τὶς βιβλιογραφικὲς καὶ ἄλλες παρατηρήσεις τοῦ ἄρθρου μου «Χίλιες καὶ Μία Νύχτες...», ὅ.π., σημ. 22.

90. Βλ. Fr. Boissonade, *De Syntipa et Cyri filio narratio*, Paris 1828.

ἔκδοση-σταθμὸ τῶν δύο βυζαντινῶν μορφῶν (J. - N., 1912), ἡ ἐρευνητικὴ συγκομιδὴ ἐμφανίζεται ἰσχνὴ καὶ ἐλλιπής. Παρὰ τὶς γλωσσικὲς ἀναζητήσεις τοῦ Meyer (1875)[91], τὸ λαογραφικὸ καὶ βιβλιακὸ ἐνδιαφέρον τοῦ Ν.Γ. Πολίτη (1877), τὶς γραμματολογικὲς ρυθμίσεις τοῦ Krumbacher (1891, 1897), τὶς βιβλιογραφικές, λαογραφικὲς καὶ φιλολογικὲς πληροφορίες τοῦ Chauvin (1904), τὶς συγκριτικὲς παρατηρήσεις τοῦ Τρικογλίδη (1923), τὴν ἐπισκόπηση τοῦ Hausrath (1932), τὶς βιβλιολογικὲς παρεκβάσεις τοῦ Οἰκονομίδη (1950-1), τὸν γραμματολογικό, λαογραφικό, φιλολογικό, παλαιογραφικὸ καὶ ἐκδοτικὸ προβληματισμὸ τοῦ Perry (1933 κ.ἑ., καὶ κυρίως 1959-60), τὶς κωδικολογικὲς πληροφορίες τοῦ Canart (1964), τὴ γραμματολογικὴ ἐπισκόπηση τοῦ Beck (1971) καὶ τὴ βιβλιογραφικὴ μέριμνα τοῦ Ἠλιοῦ (1973), ἡ ἐπιστημονικὴ δραστηριότητα δὲν ἔχει ἀντιμετωπίσει οὔτε συνολικὰ οὔτε ἱκανοποιητικὰ τὰ προβλήματα τοῦ ἔργου, τὰ ἐρευνητικὰ κενὰ παραμένουν ἀγεφύρωτα καὶ ὁρισμένες λανθασμένες πληροφορίες ἐπαναλαμβάνονται.

Γιὰ νὰ ἀντιμετωπιστεῖ ἡ κατάσταση αὐτή, ἀπαιτεῖται συγκεντρωτικὴ ἐξέταση ὅλων τῶν σημαντικῶν προβλημάτων τοῦ ἔργου. Πιστεύω ὅτι ἡ ἐξέταση αὐτὴ μπορεῖ καὶ εἶναι ὠφέλιμο νὰ γίνει ὄχι σὲ σειρὰ ἀνεξάρτητων ἐργασιῶν, ἀλλὰ μέσα στὸ πλαίσιο νέας ἔκδοσης τοῦ ἔργου. Ἀκριβῶς αὐτὲς τὶς προδιαγραφὲς καὶ τοὺς στόχους μιᾶς νέας ἔκδοσης, τὴν ὁποία ἑτοιμάζω, θὰ ἐκθέσω μὲ συντομία ἀμέσως παρακάτω, στὸ τελευταῖο μέρος τοῦ σχεδιάσματος αὐτοῦ.

2. Ἡ ἔκδοση θὰ περιλαμβάνει *Εἰσαγωγή, Κείμενα, Σημειώσεις στὰ Κείμενα, Γλωσσάριο, Ἐπίμετρα* καὶ *Πίνακες-Εὑρετήρια*.

(1) Ἡ *Εἰσαγωγὴ* θὰ εἶναι ἀνεπτυγμένη, καὶ θὰ περιέχει ἀναλυτικὴ περιγραφὴ τῆς χειρόγραφης παράδοσης ὅλων τῶν βυζαντινῶν καὶ μεταβυζαντινῶν μορφῶν τοῦ *Συντίπα*, περιγραφὴ τῆς ἔντυπης παράδοσης τῆς μεταβυζαντινῆς ἔκδοσης, σύγκριση τῶν κειμένων ὅλων τῶν μορφῶν τοῦ ἔργου, ἐξέταση τῶν συγγραφέων-μεταφραστῶν καὶ διασκευαστῶν καὶ χρονολόγηση ὅλων τῶν κειμένων, διερεύνηση τῆς γλώσσας καὶ τοῦ ὕφους, τῆς θεματικῆς δομῆς καὶ τῆς ποιητικῆς τῶν κειμένων, συγκριτικὴ ἐξέταση πηγῶν καὶ παραλλήλων, γραμματολογικὴ τοποθέτηση, καὶ περιγραφὴ τῆς τύχης τοῦ ἔργου μέσα στὴν ἑλληνικὴ καὶ τὶς βαλκανικὲς γραμματεῖες.

(2) Τὰ *Κείμενα* θὰ συγκροτοῦν μιὰ συγκεντρωτική, κριτικὴ ἔκδοση ὅλων τῶν μορφῶν τοῦ ἔργου (Μετάφραση Ἀνδρεόπουλου· Retractatio· Χειρόγραφες Μεταβυζαντινὲς Μεταφράσεις· Ἔντυπη Μετάφραση), μὲ βάση τὸ σύνολο τῆς γνωστῆς χειρόγραφης καὶ ἔντυπης παράδοσης. Τὸ ἐνδεχόμενο «συνοπτικῆς» ἔκδοσης θὰ ἀντιμετωπιστεῖ μόνο ἂν παρακαμφθοῦν οἱ τεχνικὲς δυσκολίες.

91. Βλ. G. Meyer, «Über die sprachlichen Eigenthümlichkeiten im Syntipas», *Zeitschrift für die Österreichischen Gymnasien* 26 (1875) 331 - 45.

(3) Οἱ *Σημειώσεις στὰ Κείμενα* θὰ εἶναι ἀναλυτικὲς καὶ θὰ καλύπτουν προβλήματα κειμένου, γλώσσας, ὕφους, πηγῶν καὶ παραλλήλων κτλ.

(4) Τὸ *Γλωσσάριο* θὰ ἑρμηνεύει λέξεις καὶ τύπους ὅλων τῶν κειμένων.

(5) Στὰ *Ἐπίμετρα* θὰ συμπεριληφθοῦν: Ἑλληνικὴ μετάφραση τοῦ γνωστοῦ συριακοῦ κειμένου τῆς σύνταξης-προτύπου τῆς Μετάφρασης Ἀνδρεόπουλου, *Tašʿiṯa ḏ-Sendbān*. . . (μὲ βάση τὶς ἐγκυρότερες νεότερες εὐρωπαϊκὲς μεταφράσεις). Ἀναδημοσίευση τῆς ἑλληνικῆς μετάφρασης τοῦ ἀραβικοῦ κειμένου τῶν *Ἑφτὰ Βεζίρηδων* ἀπὸ τὴν ἔκδοση Τρικογλίδη. Νεότερες καταγραφὲς ἑλληνικῶν προφορικῶν διηγήσεων, παραμυθιῶν κτλ. ποὺ σχετίζονται μὲ τὸν *Συντίπα*.

(6) Οἱ *Πίνακες-Εὑρετήρια* θὰ συγκροτοῦνται ἀπό: Πίνακα περιεχομένων ὅλων τῶν γνωστῶν συντάξεων τοῦ *Βιβλίου τοῦ Σιντμπάντ*. Πίνακες τύπων καὶ μοτίβων τοῦ *Συντίπα*. Πίνακα λέξεων ὅλων τῶν κειμένων τοῦ *Συντίπα* ποὺ θὰ περιλαμβάνει ἡ ἔκδοση. Γενικὸ Εὑρετήριο κυρίων ὀνομάτων.

Ἡ ἔκδοση πρόκειται νὰ δημοσιευτεῖ ὕστερα ἀπὸ τὴν ἔκδοσή μου τῶν *Παραμυθιῶν τῆς Χαλιμᾶς* (=*Ἀραβικοῦ Μυθολογικοῦ* καὶ *Νέας Χαλιμᾶς*), ποὺ ἔχει ἀναγγελθεῖ ἀπὸ τὸν ἐκδ. οἶκο «Ἑρμῆς» καὶ προβλέπεται νὰ κυκλοφορήσει μέσα στὸ 1982 ἢ στὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ 1983. Πιθανὸς χρόνος ἔκδοσης τοῦ *Συντίπα*: 1984 [92].

ΓΙΩΡΓΟΣ ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ
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92. Θὰ εἶμαι εὐγνώμων πρὸς τοὺς ἐρευνητὲς ποὺ θὰ θελήσουν νὰ συμβάλουν στὴν ἑτοιμαζόμενη ἔκδοση μὲ ἐνδεχόμενες ὑποδείξεις, πληροφορίες ἢ νέα στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὴ χειρόγραφη καὶ ἔντυπη παράδοση, τὰ κείμενα καὶ τὴν τύχη καὶ διάδοση τοῦ *Συντίπα*.

BYZANTINE AND POST-BYZANTINE *SINDBAD*: THE NEED FOR A NEW EDITION

Summary

The first section deals with a short presentation of the *Book of Sindbad* and the problems of its creation and origin, and its subsequent diffusion throughout the world. Thereafter, the Greek versions of *Sindbad (=Syntipas)* and their written tradition from the eleventh to the twentieth centuries are discussed. The oldest literary Byzantine version by Michael Andreopoulos was a translation made by him between the years 1086-1100 from the Syriac language, although the archetype was Arabic. popular Byzantine version, known as *Retractatio*, possibly dates from The more the thirteenth century. At least two handwritten post-Byzantine translations, which are based on the *Retractatio*, can be dated from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Finally, the printed post-Byzantine translation in the popular editions of Venice was perhaps first printed in the seventeenth century, and this version has been successively reprinted until the twentieth century.

In the second section the author examines the contribution of the *Book of Sindbad* to the development of relations between the Orient and Byzantium on the one hand, post-Byzantine and Modern Greece, and the Balkans on the other, and particularly the influence of *Sindbad* on popular Byzantine and modern Greek prose.

In the third section there is a thorough discussion of problems relating to the manuscript tradition, the editions, and the language, structure and style of the text. The author challenges a number of older now antiquated views about these problems and offers new answers to them.

In the fourth section the author briefly presents his plan for a new critical edition of the various Greek texts of *Sindbad*, which will appear in 1984. This edition will be based on all available manuscripts and the edited text will be preceded by a comprehensive preface. Literary commentaries, a glossary and a number of appendices will be added. These appendices will include a Greek translation of the Syriac

text of the *Book of Sindbad* written in the Byzantine era, and a reprinting of the Greek translation of the *Seven Vizirs* by K. Trikoglidis, an Arabic work closely related to the *Book of Sindbad*. Furthermore other modern Greek folk narratives will also be included along with tables of types and motifs and various indices.

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INDIA VIS-A-VIS EGYPT-ETHIOPIA IN CLASSICAL ACCOUNTS

India is often confused with Ethiopia in classical literature, and it is curious to see the misapprehension being continued among several authors even in the period when the greater part of *oikoumene* was known and the voyages to India were quite frequent.

The confusion seems to have grown out of Homer's statement, in which the Ethiopians were mentioned as dark-skinned remote people, one part of them living towards the setting sun, while the other towards the rising[1]. The black Africans, who were known to Greeks, could easily be passed as Ethiopians or as Homer's Western Ethiopians, but the mention of Eastern Ethiopians created an enigma. With the knowledge of India, the Eastern Ethiopians were identified by some as Indians, some took them as neighbours to Indians, while others considered the extension of Ethiopia as far as India. The theory of Indian origin of African Ethiopians was also often speculated.

The mistake that India was joined to Ethiopia appeared first in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*[2]. Like Homer, the two Ethiopian countries were also described by Herodotus. According to him the one was in Africa and the other, in Asia. He stated that the Asiatic Ethiopians, who served with the Indians, "differed from the Ethiopians who lived near Egypt, in speech and in appearance only with respect to hair, for the Ethiopians of Libya had of all men the wooliest hair; the Ethiopians of the East were straight haired"[3]. The latter, along with Paricanni, had formed the 17th province of the Persian empire[4]. As Herodotus did not furnish any information of the location of Eastern Ethiopians, their identity

1. *Od.*, I, 22 - 24, where we read "Αἰθίοπες τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος". Also see *Od.*, IV, 84; V, 282, 287; Il., I, 423 - 24; XXIII, 205 - 07.
2. *Supp.*, 284 - 6.
3. Herod., VII, 70.
4. III, 94.

remained uncertain. They cannot be identified with Indians, for Herodotus had clearly distinguished them from Eastern Ethiopians[5]. Aristotle was in a state of confusion, for at one time he accepted the view of Aeschylus that India had land connection with Ethiopia (making the Indian Ocean a lake), and at another he thought that the sea separated them[6].

In accordance with his teacher, Aristotle, the disciple Alexander was also confused on the India-Ethiopia question. He believed that the river Indus was a source of the Nile, but after traversing the Indian soil, Alexander and his companions realized their mistake, i.e., that Indus had nothing to do with Egypt or Ethiopia[7].

Notwithstanding the removal of confusion by Alexander's companions, and the increased geographical knowledge of India in the Imperial Age due to the growth of Indo-Roman trade via Egypt[8], the India-Ethiopia problem continued to prolong. When Diodorus stated that a multitude of Indian cattle were resorting to Ethiopia in certain seasons, he definitely based his statement on the assumption of land connection between the two[9]. Manetho, the author of *Egyptian History*, reported the Indian origin of African Ethiopians. He informed that the Ethiopians of Africa had come from the region of the river Indus during the reign of Amenophthis (40th king mentioned by Manetho)[10]. A similar view

5. For various views on their identification see R.W. Macan, *Herodotus*, I, part I, London 1908, p. 94 - 95; W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, I, Oxford 1912, p. 285; E. A. W. Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan — Its History and Monuments*, II, Philadelphia and London 1907, p. 107; Ph. E. Legrend, *Hérodote*, VII, 98, Paris 1951; *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1973), 408 - 409.

6. Quoted by Tarn (*Alexander the Great*, II, p. 306, n. 306 and also in *Cambridge Ancient Hisory*, vol. VI, p. 402) from Aristotle's *Liber de inundatione Nili*.

7. See Nearchus in F. Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.* 133, F. 20 (Strabo, XV, 1, 25).

8. In the Imperial Age, Indo-Roman trade via Egypt had become very considerable. Strabo (II, 5, 12) had learnt that about as many as 120 vessels sailed to India, whereas under the Ptolemies very few had ventured to undertake this voyage. Lucian (Hermotimus, 4) said that in two Olympiads a man could sail from the pillars of Heracles to India and back again three times, with leisure to explore tribes on the way. The archaeological evidence of increased Indo-Roman trade, mainly in the form of Roman gold coins, is in abundance in the Indian soil. See especially Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, London 1928, rev. ed. 1978; M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, London 1955; Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1969.

9. Diod., III, 31.

10. Manetho, *The Sothic Cycle* (Loeb., ed. W. G. Waddell, 242 - 43), 40: "Αἰθίοπες ἀπὸ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναστάντες πρὸς τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ᾤκησαν".

was held by Philostratus. According to him, the Ethiopians were an Indian race, and were subjected to King Ganges. When they conspired against their king and slew him, they were driven out of their home. Expelled from India, they settled near Egypt and formed Ethiopia[11]. The geographer Ptolemy believed that the southern parts of Libya were joined to the eastern parts of Asia[12].

The Ethiopians were often mentioned as Indians in classical works. The appellation "Indi" was used for Ethiopians by the Latin poets Virgil[13] and Ovid[14]. The former referred to the Nile as sweeping down from the coloured Indians, while the latter to Perseus as bringing Andromeda from the black Indians. In a description of a painting of Andromeda's legend, Philostratus clarified that it was neither the Red Sea nor Indian inhabitants depicted, but Ethiopians. It was a case of a Greek Perseus, who rescued white Andromeda from a monster in Ethiopia[15]. Instead of "Ethiopians" the southern neighbours of Thebaid were called "Indi" by the unknown author of *Expositio Totius Mundi*, a treatise probably of the 4th cent. A.D.[16] This appellation was also used by Malalas for the Yemenites[17]. On the other hand, in order to describe the colour of the Indians, "Αἰθίοπες" was used as an adjective[18].

A. Dihle draws our attention to a tradition prevalent among the early Christian authors who recognized India as next to Ethiopia. But, whereas the old tradition believed that there was a land connection between the two, the Christians reported that India's connection with Ethiopia could be reached by boat only. This India could be South India only, for in the first centuries the Roman trade with South India, "going mainly by sea, had its Western positions in Egypt, South Arabia and Abyssinia, that is to say next to ancient Ethiopia (modern Sudan)"[19].

11. Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, III, 20.

12. Referred by W. B. Donne in *Smith Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, vol. II, p. 177, col. 1.

13. *Georgics*, IV, 293: "coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis".

14. *Ars Amatoria*, I, 53: "Andromedan Perseus nigris portarit ab Indis".

15. *Imagines*, I, 29.

16. *Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller, V, 520. See also A. A. Vasiliev, *Expositio Totius Mundi — An Anonymous Treatise of the 4th c. A. D.*, Seminarium Kondakoviannum, VIII, 32 (1936).

17. Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. Bonn, p. 457. For Byzantine authors on Black Africans, see especially V. Christides, *The Image of the Sudanese in the Byzantine Sources*, Byzantinoslavica 43 (1982), (in print).

18. Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, XVI, 254; XVII, 114.

19. A. Dihle, *The Conception of India in Hellenistic and Roman Literature*, Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Association, CXC (n.s. 10, 1964), 16ff.

The classical authors who were interested in both India and Ethiopia wrote many narrations about their peoples, attributing to them fabulous virtues, like great beauty, longitude of life, benevolence, justice, piety, kindness etc. Thus Indians[20] and Ethiopians[21] were idealized in the Greek tradition, which had the tendency to attribute rare qualities to the peoples living at the extreme edge of the earth[22]. In the same manner, the fabulous races like Sciapodes, Pygmies, Kynokephaloi, Troglodytes, etc. were also associated with both Ethiopia[23] and India[24]. The appellation "gymnosophist", originally used for the Indian sophists, was mentioned in the case of Ethiopian sophists by Philostratus[25]. When Onesicritus wrote

20. For such virtues of Indians in the classical works see esp. Ktesias, F. Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, 688, F. 45 (16, 30, 32); Xenophon, *Cyro.*, II, 4, 1 - 9; Nearchus, *F. Gr. Hist.*, 133, F. 10b (Strabo, XV, 1, 45); Onesicritus, *F. Gr. Hist.*, 134, F. 20 (Strabo, XV, 1,34); Megasthenes, *F.Gr.Hist.*, 715, F. 4 (Diod. II, 36, 40, 42); F. 15 (Arr. *Ind.* X, 1); F. 16 (Arr. *Ind.* X, 8); F. 19a (Arr. *Ind.* XI, 9 and XII, 5); F. 32 (Strabo, XV, 1, 53 - 64); F. 33 (Strabo, XV, 1, 5a); Dion, *Perieg.*, 1135 (*Geographi Graeci Minores*, II, p. 123); Clem. Alex, *Strom.*, III, 194; Philostratus, *Apoll. Tya*, VI, 11; Dio. Chrys., *Orat.*, 35. Ktesias of Knidos was the first to attribute uprightness (δικαιότατοι) to Indians. The romantic attitude towards the life and institutions of the Indians may be seen in the works of several classical authors. The foremost among them were Ktesias, Onesicritus, Megasthenes, Philostratus, and Dio-Chrysostom.

21. For Ethiopians see esp. Homer, *Il*, I, 423 - 24; Herod., II, 17 - 24; Diod. III, 2, 2 - 3, 1; Paus. 1,33,4; Dion. *Perieg.*, *Orbis* desc., 559 - 61 (*Geographi Graeci Minores*, III, 139); Stobaeus, IV, 2, 25; Lactantius Placidus, *Commentarii in Thebaida*, 284, ed. R. Jahnke, 5, 427, Berlin 1909.

22. See Erwin Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1900. According to Rohde (p. 201ff) there existed a belief in ancient Greece which imagined the existence of a righteous society at the extreme edge of the earth. The Hyperboreans in the far North (Pindar, *Pyth. Odes*, X, 30) and Ethiopians in the far South (Homer, *Il.*, I, 423) were among such peoples. With further advancement in geographical knowledge of the inhabited world, other peoples were also credited with such virtues. It may be thus postulated that when the Greeks were acquainted with the Indians, they too were included among righteous people, due to India's location in the Far East.

23. Sciapodes were connected with Ethiopians by Hecataeous (Jacoby, *F.Gr.Hist*, I, F. 327) and with Libyans by Antiphon (Jacoby, *F.Gr.Hist.* 688, F. 60). The Pygmies too were located in southern Egypt by Hecataeous (F. 328 a and b.) The Kynakephaloi were mentioned in Africa by Herodotus (IV, 91). The Troglodytes were known to Strabo (XVII, 1, 53) as an Ethiopian tribe, who lived above Syene.

24. Sciapodes and Troglodytes were mentioned in India first by Scylax (Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, 709, F.6 F.7a and 7b) and then by Ktesias (Jacoby, *F.Gr.Hist.*, 688, F. 51a) while Pygmies and Kynakephaloi were located in India by Ktesias [*F.Gr. Hist.*, 688, F. 45 (21); F. 45 (37, 40 - 43)].

25. Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, VI, 10, 12.

that the most handsome was elected as king in Cathaea[26], country of India, he was just repeating Herodotus[27], who had described a similar practice among the Ethiopians. Herodotus'[28] reference of the Ethiopian custom of encasing deceased in glass was shifted to India by Lucian[29]. His mention of ebony as a product of Ethiopia[30] was transferred to India by others[31].

From various accounts of the classical authors it appears that, developed out of Homer's statement, the India-Ethiopia confusion is accentuated on account of misapprehension between South and East. The statements made by Virgil, Ovid, Mallalas, etc. allude to this misconception. Philostratus'[32] comment that he had no such confusion between South and East, as held by others in his days, corroborates the evidence.

Egypt or Egypt with Ethiopia has been the main yardstick of the Greeks by which they measured India. This tradition was established by the companions of Alexander, who were puzzled by the unfamiliar Indian physical phenomena. The Indian heat, rivers, plants, birds animals, etc., all contributed to remind them of the land of the Nile, and comparisons were made between their climatic, topographical and hydrographical conditions.

To start with the physical features, we observe that the region beyond Hyphasis was compared by Onesicritus[33] with what he had observed at the town of Syene in Egypt, ie., the sun at midday vertically overhead, the shadow in summer falling towards the south, and the Great Bear hidden below the horizon. These phenomena were in fact true only for the region beyond the tropic. Alexander did not reach the tropic in India, and if a well had been dug on the banks of the Indus like the famous well at Syena, in the hope of proving that the sun really was directly overhead at midday, the truth would have been discovered.

26. Onesicritus, Jacoby, *F.Gr.Hist.*, 134, F. 21 (Strabo, XV, 1,30).

27. Herod., III, 20.

28. Herod., III, 24.

29. Lucian, *Περὶ πένθους* (On Funerals), 21.

30. Herod., III, 97, 114. Diodorus Siculus (I,33,3) also mentioned its production in Ethiopia.

31. Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.*, IV, 4, 6; Virgil, *Georg.*, 2. The author of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (*Geographi Graeci Minores*, vol. I) stated that logs of ebony were exported from Barygaza to the marts of Omana and Apologos.

32. Philostratus, *Imagines*, I,29.

33. Onesic., Jacoby, *F.Gr.Hist.*, 134, F.9 and F.10 (Pliny, N. H., II, 183 - 85).

However, it is not impossible that they had heard of its being seen beyond the river and far to the South, for anyone who had journeyed along the coast as far as the Gulf of Cutch, or who had been in the Valley of Narmada would have been familiar with it [34].

The nature of Indian rivers was examined by the Macedonians, having the Nile in their mind. Nearchus stated that Alexander, seeing crocodiles in the Hydaspes and Egyptian beans in the Akesins, imagined that he had discovered the source of the Nile and was about to equip a fleet in hopes of reaching Egypt by that river; but he ascertained not long afterwards that this project was futile [35].

However, the Macedonians noted several features of comparison between the Nile and the Indian rivers. On seeing the rise of the Indian rivers through summer rains, Nearchus jumped immediately to the conclusion that the swelling of the river Nile was also caused by the rains[36]. Aristobulus had the opinion that whereas the Indian rivers flooded from the rains of the North, the Nile flooded from the rains of the South [37]. In this context Onesicritus' observation that in "the Indus' delta winds do not blow from the land and that this region is subject for the most part to winds that blow from the high sea" [38], reveals to us that he had at least understood the monsoon rains of Punjab and Indus Valley, which distinguish them from the Valley of the Nile.

Comparing the flora and fauna of India and Egypt-Ethiopia, the classical authors found many similarities. Southern India was said to have cinnamon, spikenards and other aromatics like in Arabia and Ethiopia [39]. The rivers of India were reported as having all the animals found in the rivers of Ethiopia and Egypt except the hippopotamus [40], although Onesicritus affirmed that they were also found there [41]. The companions of Alexander reported both water and land animals of India as of greater in size and number than their Egyptian counterparts [42].

34. See Peerson, *Lost Histories of Alexander the Great*, p. 16; Tarn in *Cambridge Ancient History*, VI, p. 402.
35. See above note 7.
36. Ibid.
37. Aristobulus, Jacoby, *F.Gr.Hist.*, 139, F.35 (Strabo, XV, 1,19).
38. Onesic., *F.Gr.Hist.*, 134, F.8 (Strabo, XV, 1, 20).
39. Ibid., F.22 (Strabo, XV, 1,22).
40. Aristobulus, *F.Gr.Hist.*, 139, F.38 (Strabo, XV, 1,45).
41. *F.Gr.Hist.*, 134, F.7 (Strabo, XV, 1,45).
42. Onesic., *F.Gr.Hist.*, 134, F.22 (Strabo, XV, 1, 22). See also F.14 (Strabo, XV, 1,43) on the larger size of Indian elephants.

The reason for this phenomenon was attributed to the superior fertility of India. It was said that India had a temperature like Egypt-Ethiopia in respect of the sun's rays, but it surpassed them in the copiousness of its waters, which made the atmosphere humid, nourishing and more productive[43]. Onesicritus further remarked that whereas the water of the Nile traversed in a straight course a long and narrow tract of the country, undergoing many climatic and atmospheric changes, the Indian rivers poured their waters into plains of greater length and width and lingered in the same climate, which made the latter more nutritive than the Nile, and consequently produced cetaceous animals in greater number and of greater size [44].

The environment theory, on which the Greeks had found an explanation for the greater size of Indian animals than those of Egypt and Ethiopia, also helped them in comparing the physical characteristics of their human inhabitants [45]. The stoic philosopher, Poseidonius, noted that Indians were better developed physically than the Ethiopians, due to the fact that the former were less parched by the dryness of the atmosphere [46]. The colour of the Indians was also perceived in comparison to Egyptians and Ethiopians. Indians were dark complexioned but not to the same extent as Ethiopians. Herodotus mentioned some Indians who resembled the Ethiopians in their colour[47]. With an exception of the Ethiopians, the Indians were judged as darker than the rest of the mankind by the companions of Alexander[48]. It was said that the Indians who lived in the South bore a somewhat closer resemblance to the Ethiopians, being of dark complexion and dark haired, though they were neither so

43. Ibid., F.22 (Strabo, XV, 1,22).
44. Ibid., F.22 (Strabo, XV, 1, 23).
45. According to a shool of Greek thought, developed in the later part of the 5th century B.C., the similarities and contrasts among the flora, fauna and human inhabitants of the world may be attributed to the effects of environment, i.e., the results of geographical and climatic conditions. See Hippocrates, *Περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων* (AËR), esp. chap. XII and XVII - XXIV, who illustrates this theory by describing the effect of these factors upon the physique, characters and institutions of the Egyptians and the Scythians. Aristotle (*Politics*, VII, 7, 2, p. 1327b) relied on the environmental theory for establishing the superiority of the Hellenic race over the races of Asia and Europe. See also Aristotle, *De Generatione Animalium*, V, 3, 782b; Polybius, IV, 21,2; Strabo, I, 1, 13; III, 34, 7 - 8; Sextus Empiricus, *Adver. Mathemat.*, XI, 43.
46. Poseidonius, Jacoby, *F.Gr.Hist.*, 87, F.28 (Strabo, II, 3, 7).
47. Herod. III, 101.
48. Arrian., *Anabasis*, V, 4,4.

snub-nosed nor did they have very curly hair. While the Indians, who lived further to the North, were similar to Egyptians in their colour[49]. The dark colour was erroneously associated by Onesicritus[50] with the water of the land; but Theodectes had argued that it was on account of the nearness to the sun. The nearer people were to the sun, the darker they were, was the general belief in the classical world.

In fact the comparison with Egypt was made with all sorts of Indian affairs. The Indus' Delta Patalene was paralleled with the Delta of Egypt[51]. The size of the kingdom of Taxile was estimated in relation with the size of Egypt[52]. When Nearchus stated that besides the cure for snake biting, the Indian physicians were able to cure other types of pains and diseases too[53], he had Egypt in his mind. In Egypt, according to Herodotus[54], each doctor had specialized in one disease; but according to Nearchus the Indian physicians were equally prepared to cure snake biting or any other ailments, a remark which perhaps he would not have made unless he had known Herodotus. Similarly, Megasthenes would not have classified Indians among the seven classes[55] instead of the recognized four, had he not probably known Herodotus' seven classes of Egypt[56].

The classical writings on India show an attempt to establish India's superiority over Egypt, probably to outdo the authors on Egypt. The theme *aboriente lux* which was more frequently heard in the Hellenistic Age led some to emphasize the supremacy of Egypt, while others of India. The companions of Alexander, who were the first to give a real glimpse of India, made India superior due to its more nourishing climate, as has been stated above. Not long after their observations, the *Indika* of Megasthenes appeared which was modelled after the method, form, and content of Hecataeous' *Aegyptiaca*. The latter was a frank piece of political and philosophical propaganda of Egypt under the Ptolemies. The *Indika* seems to have been written as a direct reply to Hecataeus, for it appears to show that "India is even a better land than Hecataeus' Egypt, a Platonic ideal state with philosophers on the top and that all civilization springs from India and not Egypt"[57].

In the Imperial Age India was also made superior to Egypt on account of the wisdom of its philosophers. Lucian related that philosophy first visited India, and from there marched to Ethiopia, afterwards to Egypt, and then to other countries[58]. The theory of recognizing Egypt as the origin of wisdom was discredited and philosophers like Pythagoras[59], Democritus[60], Plato[61], Lycurgus[62] and Demetrius[63], were reported to have been influenced by the learned men of India. In Philostratus' work, *Travels of Apollonius of Tyana*, there is an interesting discussion between an Egyptian gymnosophist, Thesbesion, and Apollonius on the relative superiority of Indian and Egyptian sages. The discussion was concluded in favour of the Indians, and Thesbesion was convinced to accept the fact that Egyptians adopted their knowledge from the Indians. Apollonius told Thesbesion that it was on account of India's originality that he turned his steps to the Indians rather than to Egyptians[64]. He stressed that the Indians were more subtle in their understanding and nearer to gods. Their message had made the same impression upon Apollonius as the talent of Aeschylus upon the Athenians.

The views of classical authors on India and Egypt-Ethiopia comparison may thus be summed up as follows:

I. The tradition of viewing Indian affairs in relation to Egypt and Ethiopia was started by the companions of Alexander, among whom Onesicritus may especially be cited. In the beginning the comparison was stimulated by their imaginary belief of seeking the source of the Nile in the river Indus. Even when the mistake was realized, it was narural to compare India with Egypt, on account of their comparable features, like the nature of the rivers Indus and Nile, hot climate, etc. They emphasized the superior fertility of India, corroborating their view by assertions of the greater number, size and strength of Indian animals.

49. See Arrian., *Ind.*, VI, 9; Strabo, XV, 1,13; Pliny, *N.H.*, VI, 22,70.
50. Onesic., Jacoby, *F.Gr.Hist.*, 134, F. 22 (Strabo, XV, I, 24).
51. Ibid., F.26 (Strabo, XV, 1,33).
52. Cited by Strabo, XV, 1,28.
53. Nearchus, Jacoby, *F.Gr.Hist.*, 133, F.10a (Arrian., *Ind.*, 15).
54. Herod., II, 77.
55. Meg., Jacoby, *F.Gr.Hist.*, 715, F.4 (Diod., II, 40 - 41); F.19a (Arr., *Ind.*, 11 - 12); F. 19b (Strabo, XV, 1, 39 - 41, 45, 46 - 49).
56. Herod., II, 167.

57. O. Murray, *Herodotus and Hellenistic Culture*, Classical Quarterly, 22 (1972), 208ff.
58. Lucian, *Δραπέται* (Runaways), 6ff.
59. Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, VIII, 7.
60. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, IV, 20.
61. Pausanias, IV, 32, 4.
62. Aristocrates (Plutarch, Lycurgus, C. 4) *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, IV, p. 332.
63. Lucian, *Toxaris*, 34.
64. Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, VI, 10 - 11.

II. Next to Alexander's companions comes the work of Megasthenes, who modelled his *Indika* after Hecataeus' *Aegyptiaca*, by giving a systematic account of Indian culture with geography, flora, fauna, peoples, mythology, history, etc. This work appears to have been written in reply to *Aegyptiaca*, to outdo its author and prove India a better land.

III. Lastly, the superiority of India over Egypt was emphasized on the basis of its philosophy. The Imperial-Age authors discredited the notion of recognizing Egypt as the source of wisdom, and philosophers like Pythagoras, Democritus, Plato, etc. were reported to have been influenced by Indian philosophy.

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ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

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῾Η ᾿Ινδία συχνὰ συγχέεται μὲ τὴν Αἰθιοπία στὴν κλασσικὴ λογοτεχνία καὶ εἶναι ἐνδιαφέρον νὰ παρακολουθήσει κανεὶς πῶς ἡ παρανόηση διαιωνίζεται ἀκόμα καὶ σὲ ἐποχὲς πού ἡ οἰκουμένη στὸ μεγαλύτερο μέρος της ἦταν γνωστὴ καὶ τὰ ταξίδια στὴν ᾿Ινδία ἀρκετὰ συχνά.

῾Η ῾Ομηρικὴ ἀναφορὰ στούς Αἰθίοπες[1] ἴσως ἀποτελεῖ τὴν ἀπαρχὴ τῆς σύγχυσης καθὼς ἔπρεπε νὰ ταυτιστοῦν οἱ Αἰθίοπες καὶ τῆς ᾿Ανατολῆς καὶ Δύσης. Καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τελευταῖοι εὔκολα ταυτίζονταν μὲ τοὺς γνωστοὺς κιόλας στοὺς ῞Ελληνες ᾿Αφρικανοὺς πού ἀνῆκαν στὴν μαύρη φυλή. Οἱ τῆς ᾿Ανατολῆς ὅμως παρέμεναν ἕνα αἴνιγμα. Μετὰ τὴν γνώση τῆς ὕπαρξης τῆς ᾿Ινδίας ταυτίστηκαν ἀπὸ μερικοὺς μὲ τοὺς ᾿Ινδούς, θεωρήθηκαν ἀπὸ κάποιους ἄλλους γείτονες τῶν ᾿Ινδῶν ἐνῶ καὶ μιὰ τρίτη ἄποψη σύμφωνα μὲ τὴν ὁποία ἡ προέκταση τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἔφτανε ὡς τὴν ᾿Ινδία δὲν ἔμεινε δίχως ὑποστηριχτές. ᾿Επίσης θιασῶτες ὑπῆρξαν ἀρκετοὶ καὶ τῆς θεωρίας τῆς ᾿Ινδικῆς καταγωγῆς τῶν ᾿Αφρικανῶν Αἰθιόπων.

῾Η σύγχυση παραμένει καὶ ἐμφανίζεται στὶς ῾*Ικέτιδες* τοῦ Αἰσχύλου[2] πού θεωρεῖ τὴν ᾿Ινδία καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτο ἑνωμένες, στὸν ῾Ηρόδοτο πού δὲν διασαφηνίζει τὸ θέμα τῶν τῆς ᾿Ανατολῆς Αἰθιόπων τοῦ ῾Ομήρου παρὰ μόνο ὡς πρὸς τὴν ταύτισή τους μὲ τοὺς ᾿Ινδοὺς πού ἀπορρίπτει χωρὶς ὅμως περισσότερες τοπικὲς ἢ πολιτιστικὲς ἀναφορές. ῾Ο ᾿Αριστοτέλης διατηρεῖ τὸν διχασμὸ καθὼς ἐμφανίζεται νὰ ὑποστηρίζει καὶ τὶς δύο ἀπόψεις· ὅτι δηλαδὴ ὑπάρχει ἑνότητα μέσω ξηρᾶς ἀνάμεσα στὴν Αἰθιοπία καὶ τὴν ᾿Ινδία (καθιστῶντας ἔτσι τὸν ᾿Ινδικὸ ὠκεανὸ λίμνη) ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι χωρίζονται ἀπὸ τὴν θάλασσα.

Εἶναι στὰ χρόνια τοῦ μαθητῆ του ᾿Αλέξανδρου καὶ ξεκινᾶ ἀπὸ τοὺς συντρόφους τοῦ ᾿Αλέξανδρου στὴν ἐκστρατεία, τὸν ᾿Ονησικράτη ἰδιαίτερα, ἡ συνήθεια καὶ ἡ παράδοση νὰ ἐξετάζονται τὰ θέματα τῆς ᾿Ινδίας σὲ ἀναφορὰ μὲ τὴν Αἴγυπτο καὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπία. Τὴν σύγκριση καὶ συνάφεια αὐτὴ ὑποστήριζε ἡ φαντα-

1. Αἰθίοπας τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, οἱ μὲν δυσομένου ῾Υπερίονος, οἱ δ᾿ ἀνιόντος. (᾿Οδ. α 22 - 24).

2. ῾*Ικέτιδες*, 284 - 6.

στική πίστη στὴν χερσαία ἑνότητα τῶν δύο χωρῶν καὶ στὴν ἀναζήτηση τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ Νείλου στὸν Ἰνδὸ ποταμό. Ἀκόμα καὶ ὅταν ἀντελήφθηκαν τὸ λάθος στὴν ἀντίληψη αὐτὴ ὁ συσχετισμὸς συνεχίστηκε βασισμένος σὲ κοινὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ ὅπως ἡ φύση τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἰνδοῦ καὶ τοῦ Νείλου, τὸ ζεστὸ κλίμα, κλπ. Ἐκεῖνο ποὺ τονίζονταν ἦταν ἡ κατὰ πολὺ μεγαλύτερη εὐφορία τῆς Ἰνδίας.

Κοντὰ στὸν Ἀλέξανδρο καὶ τοὺς συντρόφους του ἔρχεται ἡ δουλειὰ τοῦ Μεγασθένη ποὺ ἔγραψε τὰ *Ἰνδικά* του, ἀκολουθώντας τὰ *Αἰγυπτιακὰ* τοῦ Ἑκαταίου, δίνοντας συστηματικὴ περιγραφὴ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καλλιέργειας μὲ γεωγραφία, γεωργία, λαογραφία, μυθολογία, ἱστορία κλπ. Ἡ ὅλη σύνθεση μοιάζει νὰ γράφτηκε σὰν ἀπάντηση στὰ *Αἰγυπτιακὰ* γιὰ νὰ ἀντικρουστεῖ ὁ συγγραφέας τους καὶ νὰ ἀποδειχθεῖ ἡ Ἰνδία καλύτερη χώρα.

Τέλος ἡ ἀνωτερότητα τῆς Ἰνδίας ἀπέναντι στὴν Αἴγυπτο τονίστηκε καὶ στηρίχτηκε στὴ βάση τῆς μυθολογίας καὶ στὸ φιλοσοφικὸ κυρίως ἐπίπεδο. Οἱ συγγραφεῖς τῆς αὐτοκρατορικῆς ρωμαϊκῆς περιόδου ἀμφισβητοῦν στὴν Αἴγυπτο τὸν τίτλο τῆς πηγῆς τῆς σοφίας καὶ φιλόσοφοι καὶ στοχαστὲς ὅπως ὁ Πυθαγόρας, ὁ Δημόκριτος, ὁ Πλάτων καὶ ἄλλοι ἀναφέρονταν σὰν ἐπηρεασμένοι καὶ φωτισμένοι ἀπὸ τοὺς Ἰνδούς.

THE ARABIC AND ISLAMIC COLLECTION OF THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF TÜBINGEN (FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY)

Oriental studies have a long tradition at the University of Tübingen; their origin dates back to the 16th century, when in 1521 a chair for Hebrew studies was founded. Although Oriental studies at first were only an appendix to theology, the chair for Hebrew studies was very often held by scholars who had a special interest in the Arabic language, e.g. Wilhelm Schickard (1619 - 1635), who had learned Arabic through the Coran. The separation of Oriental studies from theology took place in the 18th century; an outstanding scholar at that time was Christian Friedrich Schnurrer (1772 - 1822), well known for his *Bibliotheca Arabica* (published in 1811), a bibliography of Arabic books printed in Europe. During the 19th century Arabic studies receded temporarily into the background as compared to other orientalist branches (e.g. to Indology), but they became significant again when the chair for Oriental studies was held by Albert Socin (1872 - 1890) who was especially interested in the research of new-Aramaic and new-Arabic dialets. His successor, Eberhard Nestle (1890 - 1900), was once more a theologian. Since then, however, the chair has always been held by orientalist scholars: by Christian Friedrich Seybold (1901 - 1921), a student of Socin, who began with the cataloguing of the Arabic manuscripts in the University Library, by Enno Littmann (1921 - 1951), Rudi Paret (1951 - 1968) and by Josef van Ess (since 1968)[1]. Moreover there has been a Special Research Field (Sonderforschungsbereich) at the University since 1969, in which scholars of different branches of Oriental studies and of other faculties are working on the publication of the *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*[2].

1. Cf. Gernot Rotter: *Die arabistischen und islamkundlichen Studien an der Universität Tübingen*, in: *Deutsche Orientalisten am Beispiel Tübingens*. Tübingen, Basel (1974), pp. 9 - 16.
2. Cf. Heinz Halm: *Der Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients* (TAVO), ibid. pp. 17 - 24.

Due to this development in research and teaching, Arabic and Islamic books were collected very early at the University Library, wherefore it possesses valuable old holdings today. Among them there are three groups of books of special value: firstly, the early Arabic type printings prepared in Europe. e.g. the *al-Qānūn fi ṭ-ṭibb* of Ibn Sīna, which was printed in 1593 by Fernando de Medici in Rome or the *Ājurrūmiyya*, which was published in three volumes, together with a Latin translation and notes by Peter Kirsten (Petri Kirsteni *Grammatices Arabicae liber* 1 - 3. Breslau 1608 - 1610); secondly, the printings of Ibrahim Müteferriqa, which were prepared in the 18th century in Istanbul (they are the first books printed in a Islamic country), e. q. Wanqūlī's *Kitāb tarjamat aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ*, a Turkish edition of al-Jauharī's well known dictionary; thirdly one should mention the printings from Būlāq in the 19th century, which were mostly acquired with the help of the orientalists in Tübingen. Moreover the Library was able to purchase now and then important private collections from orientalist scholars, e. g. in 1930 the library of Theodor Nöldeke and in 1958 parts of Enno Littmann's private library [3].

The University Library also possesses a series of Oriental manuscripts; among them there are about 350 Arabic manuscripts, of which 247 are described in the catalogues of Seybold [4] and Weisweiler [5]. Some of these manustripts are of special value, e. g. the oldest known copy of the *Kitāb Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān* of Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām, written in 561 h. (1166 A.D.) and the *Kitāb Nashwat aṭ-ṭarab fī ta'rīkh jāhiliyyat al-ʿArab* of ʿAlī ibn Mūsā ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, written by the author himself.

Because of these good old holdings, the University Library was entrusted by the German Research Association (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) after World War II with collecting intensively literature on different orientalist branches, within the framework of the Association's Programme of Special Subject Collections (Sondersammelgebietsprogramm). This programme, worked out in 1949, is an essential part of promoting research by the German Research Association; it was ori-

3. Cf. Emil Kümmerer: *Die Pflege der Arabistik an der Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen*, ibid. pp. 25 - 30.

4. Christian (Friedrich) Seybold: *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der königlichen Universitätsbibliothek zu Tübingen.* I. Tübingen 1907. (Contains the descriptions of the mss. no. 1 - 46).

5. Max Weisweiler: *Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen. Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften.* II. Leipzig 1930. (Contains the descriptions of the mss. no. 47-247).

ginally founded to restore the conditions for a systematical acquisition of books — which had been lost during the war — through well-organized cooperation among research libraries and by means of a decentralized system of Special Subject Collections. Within this programme nearly all of the research libraries in the Federal Republic of Germany were assigned one or more Special Subject Collections for which they have to collect German and foreign literature as comprehensively as possible, process the acquisitions quickly, and provide information about these through accessions lists, retrospective subject catalogues and catalogues of periodicals; for this purpose the German Research Association grants regular subsidies for the acquisition of foreign books, foreign periodicals, publications in microform and of old and rare books. In this way the participating libraries were and are able to render services, which they could not otherwise offer through the means provided by the individual State Governments, which normally provide the funds for University libraries.

Within this programme the University Library of Tübingen is responsible for the following Special Subject Collections: Ancient Near East (without Egyptology), Semitic languages and literatures, Islamic, Iranian and Turkish studies, Caucasian languages and cultures and Indology (furthermore for theology and comparative religions also). The framework of these Special Subject Collections are as wide as their geographical extension; it includes books about language, literature, religion, history and so on, i.e. all fields of human activity, with the exception of modern natural sciences. On these subjects the library is expected to collect books from all Oriental countries as well as from the other areas of the world. Thanks to the support of the German Research Association the University Library has today about 150.000 volumes of Oriental books, in indigenous as well as in many European languages; about 90.000 items of these are either original Arabic books or books on Arabic and Islamic studies. All these holdings are placed at the disposal of scholars, students and other interested people, according to the rules of the German and the international inter-library loan system.

Presently there are five subject specialists (Fachreferenten) responsible for this comprehensive collection, who are orientalists as well as research librarians. Three of them are engaged with the Near and Middle East (i. e. Ancient Near East, the Arab World, Persia, Afghanistan, Turkey and the Turkish peoples of the USSR), furthermore with Islamic studies, Caucasian languages and cultures and the African continent; the other two are responsible for South, East and Southeast Asia.

The work done indeed belongs to the traditional fields of a librarian's activity, such as acquisition, alphabetical cataloguing, subject cataloguing and providing information; but in relation to Oriental books one has to solve many special problems, which result from the abundance of languages and scripts as well as from the distance of the countries, where the books have to be purchased from. Some of these problems are the following:

The difficulties begin with the selection of books, the first step of acquisition. We are able to get information about new books from European countries and from the USA through current national bibliographies, but this is not always possible in regard to the Arab countries. Some Arab states, indeed, publish current national bibliographies, but in most cases we get them irregularly and with great delay; this also applies to the general Arabic national bibliography, *an-Nashra al-ʿarabiyya lil-maṭbūʿāt*, which is published by the Arab League. Therefore it is necessary to make use of other sources of information, like accessions lists of other Oriental collections (e.g. of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London or of the University Libraries of Lancaster and Los Angeles), of the "Accessions list Middle East" of the Library of Congress, Washington and furthermore of printed library catalogues (e. g. of the School of Oriental and African Studies and of the University Library of Harvard); but this information is also received only some time after the books have been published.

At the time of acquisition itself, it is often difficult to find appropriate booksellers in the Arab countries, who are willing to sell books to Europe. Nevertheless we have been able to establish very close relations with Egyptian booksellers, who supply us nearly with the complete book production of Egypt on subjects we are interested in. We also have contacts with booksellers in Iraq and Lebanon, though many contacts with Lebanese booksellers were interrupted during the civil war. A second possibility is, to acquire books from European and American booksellers, who are able to buy the books in the Arab countries themselves — a way which increases the prices of these books. Furthermore, a great help is the exchange of publications, which we maintain with governmental and scientific institutions in Tunisia, Egypt, Iraq and other Arab countries. As a last possibility of acquisition one should mention the buying trips which we make now and then and for which the German Research Association grants special funds. On these trips we purchase books, which otherwise excape our notice, and try to form new contacts with booksellers and to establish new exchange relationships.

With regard to the alphabetical and the subject cataloguing we have above all to solve problems of transliteration. The difficulty thereby lies not so much in transliterating titles and authors' names of books written in Arabic, but rather in transferring a secondary transliteration of Arabic names, written according to French or English pronunciation, into our system; this transfer, however, is important, because it guarantees, that in our catalogues one author will be always found under the same name entry.

Finally, our information-services are divided into two spheres; the first is to answer bibliographical questions as well as questions about special topics, which are asked by scholars, students and interested persons from Tübingen and elsewhere. For this we have at our disposal a comprehensive collection of general and subject bibliographies, encyclopaedias, manuals and other reference works, which are shelved in a special reading room. The second is to inform about our holdings and acquisitions; here we ought to mention firstly our "Neuerwerbungen Vorderer Orient" (Accessions list Near East), which has been published since 1960 in 6 - 12 issues a year and which is being sent to every scholar or scientific institution in Germany or abroad, who is interested in it. As a cumulation as well as a supplement to these accessions lists a catalogue of all acquisitions since 1960 in the field of Arabic and Islamic studies is to be published in alphabetical order, and should be issued in about six volumes. It will be divided in two parts; the first part will list the books by the names of their authors, and the second part will list all titles of original Arabic works. In addition, similar catalogues for Iranian, Turkish, and Ancient Near Eastern studies are planned too; already published there is a catalogue about South Asia. There is also a strong need for catalogues of our pre-1960 acquisitions, but their compilation is first of all a problem of personnel. Lastly one should mention our most recent project — an alphabetical catalogue of our current and old periodicals, which will be made accessible by means of several indices; this catalogue is now in the press.

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GREEK STUDIES ON ISLAM

Greek bibliography on Islam has been usually confined to Greece and most of the Greek works on this field are rarely mentioned in foreign bibliography. Nevertheless the study of Islam and the Arabo-Islamic civilization by Greek scholars is rooted in Byzantium and has continued until the present day. Thus, it covers a long period of fourteen centuries almost equal to the historical lifespan of Islam.

In order to present this bibliography in a comprehensive way I divided it in two parts, one on the Religion of Islam and the other on the History and Civilization of Islam.

A. *GREEK WORKS ON THE RELIGION OF ISLAM*

Greek works on Islam in modern times started immediately after the Greek revolution (1821), but the actual study of the Islamic religion started only after 1970. Until that time there were only some general surveys, written in Greek, mainly in encyclopaedias and some periodicals of general nature. No effort was made to understand more deeply the Islamic religion and civilization'and/or to study in detail any particular topics. Such works were written by S. Ballanos, *Αἱ Θρησκεῖαι*, Athens 1907; N. Louvaris, "Ἰσλαμισμός", in *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, vol. 13 (1926), p. 218 - 219; N. Moshopoulos, "Οἱ Μουσουλμάνοι", "Μουσουλμανικὴ θρησκεία", "Μουσουλμανικὰ κράτη", "Πανισλαμισμός", in *Νεώτερον Ἐγκυκλοπαιδικὸν Λεξικὸν Ἡλίου* 13 (1948),p. 835 - 842. K. Georgoulis, "Μουσουλμανισμός", in *Θρησκευτική, Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, 9 (1966), p. 113 - 133.

More interesting is the work *Ὁ Μωάμεθ δικτάτωρ ἢ προφήτης*, (Thessaloniki 1946, 2nd ed. Athens 1960), written by an unknown author under the pseudonym "Eremites". It is a polemic in which the author tries to refute Muḥammad's doctrines. Although the author presents some interesting aspects of Islam which manifest that he knows Arabic and Turkish, his work does not offer any contribution to the study of Is-

lam, because he stubbornly sticks to the old sterile apologetic method.

The most delicate point in the relation between Christianity and Islam is the problem of the divinity of Jesus Christ which is closely related with the Christian teaching of the Holy Trinity. For this problem E. Michaelidis wrote, *Τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κατὰ τὸ Κοράνιον*, Alexandria 1930. Michaelidis wrote again about the personality of Christ in the Islamic religion in general: *Ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν τῇ ἀραβικῇ γλώσσῃ καὶ φιλολογίᾳ*, Alexandria 1951. The same author wrote the study *Τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ Ἰσλάμ*, Alexandria 1954. In this study he discusses the seven pillars of the Islamic faith. All the three above-mentioned works were published under the title: *Τρίπτυχον: Α. Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ γραμματολογία ἐν ἀραβικοῖς κειμένοις, χειρογράφοις, καὶ ἐκδιδομένοις. Β. Τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς Μαρίας, μητρὸς τοῦ Μεσσία εἰς τὸ Κοράνιον. Γ. Τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ Ἰσλὰμ*, Alexandria 1973. The same author wrote also about the position of Jesus's mother, Mary, in the Qu'rān: *Τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς Μαρίας, μητρὸς τοῦ Μεσσία εἰς τὸ Κοράνιον*, Alexandria 1958.

Among the early monographs on Islam, the study of Vladimiros Mirmiroglou, *Οἱ Δερβίσσαι*, Athens 1940, is to be mentioned. In this voluminous work the author discusses the Dervish order of Islam in Asia Minor from 1240 - 1925. The author offers some valuable information drawn from his own experience with the Dervish order in his time, at the turn of the twentieth century. For the Dervish order in Macedonia in 1967 see the book of V. Dimitriadis, *Ἡ κεντρικὴ καὶ δυτικὴ Μακεδονία κατὰ τὸν Ἐβλιγιὰ Τσελεμπῆ* (Εἰσαγωγή, μετάφραση, σχόλια), (Διδακτορικὴ διατριβή), Thessaloniki 1973.

More recently E. Sdrakas wrote the monograph *Ἡ κατὰ τοῦ Ἰσλὰμ πολεμικὴ τῶν Βυζαντινῶν θεολόγων*, Thessaloniki 1961. He is the first Greek scholar who studied the problems of the Byzantine polemics against Islam. He presents in a sketchy way most of the Byzantine authors who wrote such works and discusses briefly the problems of the anti-Islamic Byzantine theology.

The systematic and scholarly study of the religion of Islam actually started in Greece after 1970. The first to write an important introduction to the religion of Islam was A. Yannoulatos in his work *Ἰσλάμ: Θρησκειολογικὴ ἐπισκόπησις*, Athens 1975. It is a useful scholarly survey of Islam, well arranged, clearly exposed and with objective spirit. It is divided in three parts: (a) The Roots of Islam; (b) Islamic Creed and Ethos and (c) Evolution-Ramifications. The author ends his book with an examination of the characteristics of contemporary trends in Islam.

A series of studies on Islam, based on the Arabic sources, covering

many aspects of the Islamic religion have been written by G. Ziakas. His first book is: *Ὁ Μυστικὸς ποιητὴς Maulānā Jalāladdīn Rūmī καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία αὐτοῦ*, Thessaloniki 1973. This study examines the life, literary work and teaching of the most famous of Islam's mystic poets, the remarkable Jalāladdīn Rūmī, founder of the Maulawiyya order of "dancing Dervishes" (better known as "whirling Dervishes") in Konya (Ikonium). In this extensive study the readers acquire a panoramic view of Islamic mysticism.

The second study of the same author is: *Ἡ ἔννοια τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς βουλήσεως καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ εἰς τὸν μεταγενέστερον ἰσλαμικὸν μυστικισμόν*, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης 18 (Thessaloniki 1973), p. 449 - 512. This work continues the author's study on Islamic mysticism and examines the views held by two great mystics of Islam, Ibn al-ʿArabī and Jalāladdīn Rūmī about evil and free will.

After the study of Islamic mysticism, the author turns his attention to the Islamic roots. The following five works were written on this topic: *Προφητεία, ἀποκάλυψις καὶ ἱστορία τῆς σωτηρίας* κατὰ τὸ Κοράνιον, Thessaloniki 1976; *Ἡ περὶ ἐσχάτων διδασκαλία τοῦ Ἰσλάμ*, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης 20 (Thessaloniki 1976), p. 319 - 420; *Πίστις, ἐλπὶς καὶ σωτηρία κατὰ τὸ Ἰσλάμ*, Thessaloniki 1978; *Ἡ περὶ ἀνθρώπου διδασκαλία κατὰ τὸ Ἰσλάμ*, Thessaloniki 1979; *Ἱστορία τῶν Θρησκευμάτων. Β' Τὸ Ἰσλάμ*, Thessaloniki 1981.

In these works the author deals mainly with the prophet Muḥammad, the content of the Qur'ān, the general principles and religious ideas of Islam and Islamic eschatology.

About the personality of the great Pakistan mystic poet Muḥammad Iqbal (1873 - 1938) there is a short but comprehensive study by D. Stathopoulos under the title "Ἡ ὑπὸ τοῦ Muḥammad Iqbal (1873 - 1938) σύγχρονος θρησκειοφιλοσοφικὴ θεώρησις καὶ ἀνανέωσις τοῦ Ἰσλάμ. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἔρευναν τῆς ἰσλαμικῆς θρησκείας", in "*Λειμωνάριον*" *Προσφορὰ εἰς τὸν καθηγητὴν Ν. Β. Τωμαδάκην*, Athens 1973, p. 325 - 354.

A. Argyriou has written a series of interesting and important works on the Greek apocalyptic literature on Islam during the time of the Turkish occupation: *Ὁ Ἀναστάσιος Γόρδιος καὶ τὸ σύγγραμά του περὶ Μωάμεθ καὶ κατὰ Λατείνων*, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Στερεοελλαδικῶν Μελετῶν (=ΕΕΣΜ), 2 (1969), p. 305 - 324; *Ἐξήγησις εἰς τὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου θεολόγου Ἀποκάλυψιν Ζαχαρία τοῦ Γεργάνου ἀπὸ τὴν Ἄρτα*, ΕΕΣΜ, 4 (1973), p. 367 - 400; *Ἡ ἑρμηνεία τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Μαξίμου τοῦ Πελοποννησίου ὡς ἀπαρχὴ τοῦ ἑρμηνευτικοῦ κινήματος κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῆς*

Τουρκοκρατίας, in Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Α' Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν, 3 (Athens 1976), p. 1 - 8; *Οἱ ἑλληνικὲς ἑρμηνεῖες στὴν ἀποκάλυψη κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας*, ΕΕΘΣΑΠΘ, 24 (1979), p. 359 - 380.

Argyriou, who teaches in Strasbourg, wrote also a number of other works on this topic in French. The most important are: *Sur Mohamet et contre les Latins. Une oeuvre inédite d'Anastasios Gordios*, Strasbourg 1967; *Anastasios Gordios et l'Islam*, RSR 43 (1969), p. 58 - 87. *Les exégèses grecques de l'Apokalypse à l'époque turqe* (1453 - 1821), (typewritten dissertation), 2 vols, Strasbourg 1977; *Possibilités d'un dialogue entre l'Islam et le Christianisme à partir de leur conception de l'histoire*, Revue française de l'Orthodoxie 32[110] (1980). (The same study was first published in Greek under the title *Δυνατότητες ἑνὸς διαλόγου μεταξὺ Χριστιανισμοῦ καὶ Μουσουλμανισμοῦ*, ΕΕΣΑΠΘ 24 (1979), p. 383 - 413).

Argyriou has also written works on the dialogues between Christians and Moslems in the Byzantine period: *Ἰωσὴφ τοῦ Βρυεννίου μετά τινος Ἰσμαηλίτου διάλεξις*, ΕΕΒΣ 35 (1966), p. 158 - 195.

On the Greek apocalyptic literature on Islam A.S. Kariotoglou's interesting work should be also mentioned: *Ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ἀποκαλυπτικὴ γραμματεία περὶ τοῦ Ἰσλὰμ καὶ τῆς πτώσεως αὐτοῦ*, (Διδακτορικὴ διατριβή), Athens 1980.

Translations of the Qur'ān

It is noteworthy that already in the ninth century there was a Greek translation of some passages of the Qur'ān, done by Nicetas Byzantios: «Ἀνατροπὴ τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Ἄραβος Μωάμεθ πλαστογραφηθείσης βίβλου» (PG 105, p. 669 - 805). It should be mentioned here that the first Latin translation of the Qur'ān was written as late as in 1143 by Robert Refines and a Saracen, named Muḥammad, with the encouragement of Peter the Venerable, abbot of the monastery of Cluny. Needless to say how important is the first translation of the Qur'ān in a European language. Nicetas manages to translate his passages properly.

The only scholarly translation which we possess is that by Gerasimos Pentakis, *Τὸ Κοράνιον*, 2nd revised edition, Athens 1928 (ed. Eleutheroudakis). There are also some more commercial translations mainly from French or English.

Islamic Philosophy

There are only two books written by Greek scholars on Arab philosophy: D. Goutas, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic. A Study of the Graeco-Arabic Gnomologia*, New Haven 1975. It is an interesting study

on the Arabic gnomologia which includes ἀποφθέγματα referring to Aristotle's relations to his teacher Plato, a biography of Aristotle, another biography of Ptolemy al-Gharīb, various popular sayings about God and metaphysics and moreover a series of pseudo-Aristotelian epistolography. The second book is by G. Ziakas, *Ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης στὴν ἀραβικὴ παράδοση*, Thessaloniki 1980. This is also an important book, first in its kind in modern Greek, which presents Aristotle in the Arab tradition. It contains a survey of the Arabic sources, the importance of Syriac Christianity for the transmission of Greek works, the translations at the time of the Ummayads and the 'Abbāsids, the apocryphal Aristotelian literature which has survived in Arabic and the use of the Aristotelian philosophy by the Arab philosophers, al-Kindī, al-Faradī and especially Ibn Rushd.

B. *HISTORICAL WORKS ON THE ARABO-ISLAMIC WORLD*

I. General Works

There is not any history of the Arabs and their civilization written by any modern Greek scholar. H. Nomikos' *Εἰσαγωγὴ στὴν ἱστορία τῶν Ἀράβων* (Alexandria 1937) is far from comprehensive.

Important information on the history of the Arabs is found in some general histories of the Byzantine Empire:

K. Amantos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ κράτους*, vol. I, 3rd ed., Athens 1963; vol. II, 2nd. ed., 1957.

D. Zakythinos, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία* (324 - 1071), Athens 1972.

J. Karayannopoulos, *Ἱστορία βυζαντινοῦ κράτους* (565 - 1081), vol. II, Thessaloniki 1976.

Aik. Christophilopoulou, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία 610 - 867*, vol. II, Athens 1981.

More detailed information also appears in a number of articles written in the *Ἱστορία ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*, in vol. VII (Athens 1978), by A. Stratos and Sp. Vryonis, and in vol. VIII (1979) by Aik. Christophilopoulou, M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou and N. Oikonomides.

Vryonis has written in English a considerable number of important studies on Islam, mainly on the Turks. (For example see *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Los Angeles 1971).

II. Special Works

There are a number of important articles written about the Arabo-Byzantine relations, though almost all viewed through the Byzantine

sources. The main topics a..d most important relevant works are the following:

a. *Pre-Islamic Arabs*

A. Nur, *Τὸ Κοράνιον καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον*, Athens 1970. A short account of the relations between Byzantium and Mecca before and after Muḥammad.

Several articles on this topic have been also written by V. Christides, most of them in English and a few in Greek. (a) S. v. «Νοβαταῖοι», «Παλμύρα», in *Μεγάλη Σοβιετικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*. (b) *Saracens' Prodosia in Byzantine Sources* Byzantion 40 (1970), p. 1 - 13. An illuminating article on one of the causes of the easy conquest of the Near East by the Arabs, i.e., the distrust of the Byzantines towards their allies, the Ghassanid Arabs, which "a century later was to fling open the door of the whole East to the invading Moslem army". (c) *L'énigme d'Ophir*, Revue Biblique 77 (1970), p. 240 - 247. (d) *The Himyarite Ethiopian War and the Ethiopian Occupation of Soutth Arabia in the Acts of Gregentius (ca. 530 A.D.)*, Annales d'Ethiopie 9 (1972), p. 115 - 146. A study on the political activities of Byzantium in Ethiopia and Yemen at the turn of the sixth century.

b. *Arabic Conquest*

A. N. Stratos' book *Τὸ Βυζάντιο στὸν Ζ' αἰῶνα*, 5 vols. (Athens 1965 - 1974) includes several references to the Arab conquests.

E. L. Vranousi, *Byzantinoarabica: οἱ πρῶτοι ἀραβοβυζαντινοὶ πόλεμοι στὴν Παλαιστίνη, Ἰορδανία, Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη. Συμβολὴ πρώτη: κριτικὸς ἔλεγχος τῶν πηγῶν*, Σύμμεικτα (Ἐθνικοῦ Ἱδρύματος Ἐρευνῶν. Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν) 3 (1979), p. 1 - 28. In this study the author deals with the problem of the dating of the first Arabo-Byzantine wars on the basis of all relevant sources: Byzantine, Syriac, Armenian, Coptic, Persian and Arabic. She places more emphasis on the evidence of the Byzantine chronographer Theophanes. According to her opinion, although this author offered precise information about the above-mentioned historical events, his contribution was underestimated or ignored by orientalists.

See also the article written in English by V. Christides *Sudanese at the Time of the Arab Conquest of Egypt*, BZ (1982) p. 6 - 13.

c. *Cyprus*

K. Chatzepsaltes, *Ἡ Κύπρος κατὰ τὸ δευτερο ἥμισυ τοῦ ἐνάτου καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ δεκάτου μ.Χ. αἰῶνος*. Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θ' Διεθνοῦς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου Θεσσαλονίκης II, Athens 1955, p. 327 - 341;

idem, *Ἡ Κύπρος, τὸ Βυζάντιο καὶ τὸ Ἰσλάμ. Ἡ ναυτικὴ σπουδαιότης τῆς Κύπρου κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῶν ἀραβο-βυζαντικῶν συγκρούσεων (648 - 965)*, Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαὶ 29 (1956), 15 - 29. N. Tomadakes, *Κυπροκρητικά*, *ΕΕΒΣ* 38 (1971), p. 27 - 33. N. Oikonomakes, *Ἡ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἀραβοκρατία κατὰ τὰς ἀραβικὰς πηγάς*, Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, Λευκωσία 1972, p. 193 - 200.

d. *Moslem Crete*

The Moslem occupation of Crete (824 - 961) inspired a number of works, most important of which are:

I. S. Alexakes, *Ἡ ἀπόβασις τοῦ ὑπὸ Νικηφόρου Φωκᾶν στρατοῦ εἰς Κρήτην καὶ ἡ πρώτη νικηφόρος μάχη*, Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ 15 - 16 (1961 - 1962), p. 42 - 46. N. E. Oikonomakes, *Ἡ ἐπιδρομὴ καὶ ἡ κατάκτησις τῆς Κρήτης ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων κατὰ τὸν Μπαλαδοῦρι*, Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ 17 (1963), p. 307 - 314. In this and a number of other relevant works Oikonomakes uses some Arabic sources, but he ignores modern bibliography.

N. Panayotakes, *Θεοδόσιος ὁ Διάκονος καὶ τὸ ποίημα αὐτοῦ "Ἅλωσις τῆς Κρήτης"*, Herakleion 1960; idem, *Ζητήματα τινὰ περὶ τῆς κατακτήσεως τῆς Κρήτης ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων*, Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ 15 - 16 (1961 - 1962), p. 9 - 38. Panayotakes made a considerable contribution on the study of the Byzantine sources on Moslem Crete.

N. Tomadakes, *Ἡ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία τῆς Κρήτης κατὰ τοὺς αἰ. η' - ιγ' καὶ ὁ τίτλος τοῦ προκαθημένου αὐτῆς*, *ΕΕΒΣ* 24 (1954), p. 67 - 107; idem, *Προβλήματα τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ Ἀραβοκρατίας (826 - 961)*, *ΕΕΒΣ* 30 (1960), p. 1 - 38. Tomadakes, without using the Arabic sources, correctly points out that the Arab invaders did not apply any indiscriminate slaughtering to the Cretan population, nor were there any intermarriages between Moslems and Cretans in great scale.

P. Hidiroglou, *Der König Iqrīt von Kreta*, Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἐρευνῶν 6 (1972 - 1973), p. 169 - 196.

V. Christides, *The Raids of the Moslems of Crete in the Aegean Sea: Piracy and Conquest*, Byzantion 51 (1981), p. 76 - 111. An analytical account of the raids of the Moslems in the Aegean, in particular of the Moslems of Crete, in the ninth and tenth centuries, based on all available sources. A full account on the Moslem occupation of Crete, based on Byzantine and Arabic sources as well as on coins and monuments, has been offered for the first time by the same author: *Ἡ Κατάληψη τῆς Κρήτης ἀπὸ τοὺς Ἄραβες (±824): Μιὰ ἀποφασιστικὴ καμπὴ στὸν ἀγῶνα*

μεταξὺ Βυζαντίου καὶ ᾽Ισλάμ, Athens 1982. This book will be published in English by the Greek Academy of Athens. It fills a gap in both Byzantine and Islamic history, for no comprehensive work had existed before on Moslem Crete.

e. *Byzantium and Africa*

There is no work written in Greek on this topic, but only a number of studies written in English.

Th. Papadopoullos, *Africanobyzantina*, Athens 1966. A comprehensive study on the influence of Byzantine civilization on North and Central Africa.

V. Christides, *Ethnic Movements in Southern Egypt and Northern Sudan. Blemmyes-Beja in Late Antique and Early Arab Egypt until 707 A.D.*, Listy Filologicke, 103[3] (1980), p. 129 - 143; idem, *The Image of the Sudanese in the Byzantine Sources*, Byzantinoslavica 43 (1982) (in press).

MOSLEM TURKS

It is natural of many Greek scholars to show great interest in the relations between Greeks and Turks, in particular at the time of the Turkish occupation (1453 - 1821). There is an immense bibliography on this topic written by modern Greeks, mainly in Greek but also in other European languages. This bibliography is found, excellently arranged, according to topics, in the ninth, tenth and eleventh volumes of *῾Ιστορία ῾Ελληνικοῦ ῎Εθνους* (᾽Εκδοτικὴ ᾽Αθηνῶν) and there is no need to repeat it here.

G. ZIAKAS
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Η ΑΛΩΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΜΟΨΟΥΕΣΤΙΑΣ (±965) ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΤΑΡΣΟΥ (965) ΑΠΟ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΑΒΙΚΕΣ ΠΗΓΕΣ

Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάκτηση τῆς Κρήτης (961)[1] οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ στρέφονται κατὰ τῶν ᾽Αράβων τῆς ᾽Ανατολῆς. ᾽Επὶ Ρωμανοῦ Β′ (959 - 963) ὁ Νικηφόρος Φωκᾶς κυριεύει «ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑξήκοντα φρούρια»[2] κι ἔτσι «ἐθραύσθησαν τὰ ᾽Αραβικὰ ὁρμητήρια καὶ τὸ κέντρο βάρους τῶν ᾽Αραβοβυζαντινῶν συγκρούσεων μετετέθη εἰς τὰ Νοτιοανατολικά»[3]. Τὸ ἑπόμενο βῆμα ἦταν ἡ Μοψουεστία καὶ ἡ Ταρσός, ὅπως προφητικὰ ἔγραψε ὁ Θεοδόσιος ὁ Διάκονος[4]. ῾Η Ταρσὸς μάλιστα ἀποτελοῦσε ἕνα ἀπὸ τὰ πιὸ νευραλγικὰ ναυτικὰ κέντρα τῶν ᾽Αράβων[5]. ᾽Απὸ ἐκεῖ ξεκίνησαν τὸν 9ο καὶ 10ο αἰ. οἱ ἐπιδρομὲς τῶν ᾽Αράβων στὰ νησιὰ τοῦ Αἰγαίου καὶ ἡ φοβερὴ ἐπιδρομὴ ἐναντίον τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης τὸ 904[6].

Οἱ πληροφορίες ποὺ ἔχομε γιὰ τὴν ἅλωση τῆς Μοψουεστίας καὶ τῆς Ταρ-

1. Γιὰ τὴν κατάκτηση τῆς Κρήτης βλ. Β. Χρηστίδη, ῾Η κατάληψη τῆς *Κρήτης ἀπὸ τοὺς ῎Αραβες (±824)*. Μιὰ ἀποφασιστικὴ καμπὴ στὸν ἀγώνα μεταξὺ Βυζαντίου καὶ ᾽Ισλάμ, ᾽Αθήνα 1982.

2. Σχετικὰ μὲ τὴν ἐκστρατεία τοῦ Νικ. Φωκᾶ στὴν ᾽Ανατολὴ μετὰ τὴν Κρήτη βλ. Λ. Διάκονο, *῾Ιστορία*, ἔκδ. B.G. Niebuhrg, Leonis Diaconi, Historiae, Bonnae 1828, 29.3 - 30.8, καὶ ᾽Ιω. Σκυλίτζη, *Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν*, ἔκδ. Ioannes Thurn, Ioannis Scylitzae, Synopsis Historiarum, Berlin 1973, 252.19 - 253.29.

3. ᾽Ι. Καραγιαννοπούλου, ῾Ιστορία Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους, τ. II, Θεσσαλονίκη 1979, σ. 384.

4. Θεοδόσιος Διάκονος, ῞Αλωσις Κρήτης, ἔκδ. H. Criscuolo, Theodosii Diaconi, De Creta capta, Leipzig 1979, στχ. 1036 - 1039.

. . .῎Ηκουσε Ταρσὸς καὶ κατασκάπτει τάφρους
καὶ πύργους ὑψοῖ καὶ σιδηροῖ τὰς πύλας,
καὶ πάντα ποιεῖ συμφοραῖς ἀλλοτρίαις,
τὸ μέλλον αὐτῇ προσβλέπουσα φορτίον.

5. Γιὰ τὴ σπουδαιότητα τῆς Ταρσοῦ ὅταν τὴν κατεῖχαν οἱ ῎Αραβες βλ. A. M. Fahmy, Moslem Sea Power in the Eastern Mediterranean, London 1950, σ. 56 κ.ἑ.

6. Γιὰ τὶς ἐπιδρομὲς τῶν ᾽Αράβων στὸ Αἰγαῖο βλ. τὸ πρόσφατο ἄρθρο τοῦ V. Christides, The Raids of the Moslems of Crete in the Aegean Sea. Piracy and Conquest, Byzantion 51 (1981), σ. 76 - 111. Γιὰ τὴν ἀντίδραση τῶν Βυζαντινῶν στὶς ἐπιδρομὲς αὐτὲς βλ. H. Ahrweiler, Les ports byzantins (VIIe - IXe siècles), in Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, XXV. La navigazione mediterranea nell’alto medioevo, Spoleto, 14 - 20 aprile 1977, σ. 273.

σοῦ προέρχονται κυρίως ἀπὸ δύο Βυζαντινοὺς καὶ δύο Ἄραβες ἱστορικούς. Αὐτοὶ εἶναι ὁ Ἰωάννης Σκυλίτζης[7] καὶ ὁ Λέων ὁ Διάκονος[8], ὁ Yāqūt[9] καὶ ὁ Ibn Miskawī[10]. Σκοπὸς τοῦ πονήματος εἶναι νὰ δειχτοῦν οἱ διαφορὲς καὶ οἱ ὁμοιότητες ποὺ παρουσιάζονται σὲ καθένα ἀπὸ τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐξιστόρηση τῶν ἁλώσεων. Στὴν ἀρχὴ θὰ παρουσιαστοῦν παράλληλα τὰ κείμενα τῶν Βυζαντινῶν συγγραφέων· θὰ ἀκολουθήσει ἡ παρουσίαση κειμένων τῶν Ἀράβων ἱστορικῶν μὲ τὸν ἴδιο τρόπο καὶ τέλος θὰ διατυπωθοῦν τὰ συμπεράσματα ποὺ ἐξάγονται ἀπὸ τὴ συγκριτικὴ θεώρηση τῶν κειμένων [10β].

1. Ἅλωση τῆς Μοψουεστίας: (α) Σκυλίτζης, 965· (β) Λ. Διάκονος, 964.
   Ἅλωση τῆς Ταρσοῦ: (α) Σκυλίτζης, 965· (β) Λ. Διάκονος, 965.

Ἰω. Σκυλίτζης

268.90 - 1. Ὁ δὲ Νικηφόρος κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ [δηλ. 964]. . . εἰσελθὼν εἰς Κιλικίαν Ἀνάβαρζαν καὶ Ρωσσὸν καὶ Ἄδανα τὰς πόλεις καὶ ἕτερα οὐκ ὀλίγα φρούρια κατεστρέψατο.
268.1 - 4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ταρσὸν καὶ Μόψου ἑστίαν ἀπελθεῖν οὐκ ἐθάρρησε, χειμῶνος ἤδη καταλαβόντος. καὶ στρατὸν τὸν ἀποχρῶντα καταλιπὼν ἐκεῖσε ἔξεισιν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ παραχειμάσων [964/965].
268.5 - 8. Ἦρος δὲ ἀρχομένου πάλιν [965] εἰσῆλθεν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ καὶ διχῇ διελὼν τὰ στρατεύματα, τὴν μὲν Ταρσὸν πολιορκεῖν ἀφῆκε Λέοντα τὸν ἀδελφόν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀράμενος τῆς στρατιᾶς τῇ Μόψου ἑστίᾳ προσέσχεν.
(Στὴ συνέχεια περιγράφει τὴν ἅλωση τῶν δύο πόλεων).

Λ. Διάκονος

51.6 - 9. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος κατήφειαν ἐαριναὶ τροπαὶ πρὸς γαληνιῶσαν μετεσκεύαζον ἱλαρότητα, ἐκστρατείαν κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν παραγγείλας, τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀπαίρει [964].
(Περιγράφει μιὰ ἀποτυχημένη ἀπόπειρα κατάληψης τῆς Ταρσοῦ τὸ 964 [51.6 - 52.14] καὶ συνεχίζει).
52.7. κἑξ. . . ἐκεῖθεν μεταναστάς τε καὶ παρεγκλίνας, τοῖς ἔγγιον αὐτῇ κατῳκισμένοις προσβάλλει φουρίοις, καὶ Ἄδανα καὶ τὴν Ἀνάβαρζαν, καὶ ἄλλα ὑπὲρ τὰ εἴκοσι φρούρια αἱρεῖ αὐτοβοεί. κἄπειτα Μοψουεστίᾳ προσβαλών τε καὶ κυκλωσάμενος ἐκθύμως ἐπολιόρκει.
(Περιγράφει τὴν ἅλωση τῆς Μοψουεστίας τὸ 964 καὶ συνεχίζει).
55.3 κἑξ. αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὴν Καππαδοκῶν διαχειμάζων, [964/965] ἤσχαλλέ τε καὶ ἤλυεν ἀνιώμενος, τῷ μὴ καὶ τὴν Ταρσὸν αἱρήσειν αὐτοβοεί. . .
56.3 κἑξ. . ἦρος δὲ εὐθὺς διαλάμποντος [965], καὶ τῆς χειμερινῆς δριμύτητος εἰς θερινὴν θάλψιν μετακιρναμένης ἐπιεικῶς καὶ τὸ προστεταγμένον αἱ δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα συνηγείροντο. ὁ δὲ ἀραρότως καθοπλίσας τὴν στρατιάν, συναγομένην ὑπὲρ μυριάδας τῶν τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ σημεῖον διάρας ἐπῄει τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ταρσοῦ.
(Στὴ συνέχεια περιγράφει τὴν ἅλωση τῆς Ταρσοῦ).

7. Γιὰ τὸν Ἰω. Σκυλίτζη βλ. Προλογικὰ τῆς ἔκδοσης τοῦ I. Thurn.
8. Γιὰ τὸν Λ. Διάκονο βλ. K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur, München 1897. Ἑλλην. μεταφρ. ἀπὸ Γ. Σωτηριάδη, Ἀθήνα 1897/1900, τ. I, σ. 540, καὶ Ἰ. Καραγιαννοπούλου, Πηγαὶ τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Ἱστορίας[2] (Βυζαντινὰ κείμενα καὶ μελέται 2), Θεσσαλονίκη 1971, σ. 253.
9. Γιὰ τὸν Yāqūt βλ. D. Dunlop, Arab Civilization, Beirut 1971, σ. 120.
10. Γιὰ τὸν Ibn Miskawī, βλ. Dunlop, σ. 123 κ.ἑ.
10β. Ἡ μετάφραση ἀπὸ τὰ ἀραβικὰ ἔγινε ἀπὸ τὸν κύριο Rashad Khouri.

2. Διαφορετικὴ περιγραφὴ τῆς ἅλωσης τῆς Μοψουεστίας στὸν Ἰω. Σκυλίτζη καὶ τὸν Λ. Διάκονα.

Ἰω. Σκυλίτζης

269.2 κἑξ. . . ἐνεργῷ δὲ χρησάμενος τῇ πολιορκίᾳ [ὁ Νικ. Φωκᾶς τῆς Μοψουεστίας] ἔχων δὲ καὶ τὸν λιμὸν ἐπαρήγοντα, παραλαμβάνει τὸ ἓν μέρος τῆς πόλεως. τέμνεται γὰρ ἡ πόλις αὕτη μέσον τῷ Σάρῳ ποταμῷ, ὡς δοκεῖν δύο πόλεις εἶναι. τοῦ ἑνὸς οὖν, ὡς εἴρηται, μέρους ἁλόντος ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτερον οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ καταφεύγουσι, τὸ ἑαλωκὸς πανταχόθεν ὑφάψανες. σφοδρότερον δὲ χρησαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, ἑάλω καὶ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος, μηδενὸς ἐκεῖθεν διαφυγόντος.

Λ. Διάκονος

52.15 - 53.14. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς, δραστήριος τε ὢν καὶ δεινὸς ἐν ἀμηχάνοις πορίσασθαι μηχανήν, περιελθὼν καὶ καταστοχασάμενος τὸν χῶρον, ἧπερ ἦν εὐεπιχείρητον τῶν πύργων παραγαγὼν ἄνδρας ἀωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν ἀνορύττειν ἠρέμα ἐνεκελεύσατο, ἀπὸ τῶν ὄχθων ἀρξάμενος τοῦ ἐκεῖσε παραρρέοντος Πυράμου τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὡς μὴ αἴσθοιντο οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ εἰς κενὸν ἀποβῇ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπιχείρημα. οἱ δὲ ἀνώρυττόν τε καὶ τὸν χοῦν τῷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκφοροῦντες παρέπεμπον ῥεύματι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἐξήνυστο, καὶ δύο τῶν πύργων μεταξὺ τοῦ συνδεομένου τού-

τοις τειχίσματος εἰς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διάκενοι γεγόνασι, καὶ ἐκκρεμεῖς ὄντες ξύλοις ᾐώρηντο, τῷ μὴ τὴν σφῶν διαλυθῆναι οἰκοδομήν· ἄρτι τῆς ἡλιακῆς ἀκτῖνος τὴν περίγειον ὑπαυγαζούσης, κατὰ τὸ εἰθισμένον οἱ Ἀγαρηνοὶ λευκοχείμονες τῶν πύργων προκύψαντες, καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐντεινάμενοι καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς παρασκευάσαντες μηχανάς, ὕβρεσιν ἐδυσφήμουν τὸν ἄνακτα. ὁ δὲ τοῖς ὑπογείοις ἐρείσμασι τῶν πύργων ἐνιέναι πῦρ διακελευσάμενος, αὐτὸς ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς καθωπλισάμενος, ἐπῄει διατάττων τὰς φάλαγγας. ῥαδίως δὲ τῶν στηριγμάτων κατακαέντων, ὅσον ἐκκρεμὲς ἦν τοῦ τείχους καὶ ὑπόκενον, κατασεισθὲν εἰς γῆν κατεφέρετο, συγκατασπᾶσαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβεβηκότας αὐτῷ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν, ὧν οἱ πλείους συντριβέντες αὐθωρὸν διαπεφωνήκασιν. . .

3. Ὁ Σκυλίτζης ἀναφέρει πὼς ἡ ἅλωση τῆς Ταρσοῦ ἔγινε ἀπὸ τὸν Λέοντα Φωκᾶ· ὁ Λέοντας Διάκονος ἀπὸ τὸν Νικηφόρο Φωκᾶ.

Ἰω. Σκυλίτζης

268.6 κἑξ. τὴν μὲν Ταρσὸν πολιορκεῖν ἀφῆκε Λέοντα τὸν ἀδελφόν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀράμενος τῆς στρατιᾶς τῇ Μόψου ἑστίᾳ προσέσχεν.

(Περιγράφει τὴν πολιορκία καὶ τὴν ἅλωση τῆς Μοψουεστίας ἀπὸ τὸν Νικηφόρο Φωκᾶ καὶ συνεχίζει).

269.20 κἑξ. τὴν δὲ τῆς Μόψου ἑστίας ἅλωσιν οἱ Ταρσεῖς ἐγνωκότες, πιεζόμενοι δὲ καὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ τῷ λιμῷ, διαπρεσβεύσαντο πρὸς τὸν Λέοντα, ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸν βασιλέα

Λ. Διάκονος

60.16. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐχ οἷοί τε ἦσαν [Ταρσεῖς] πρός τε τὸ ἄμαχον τοῦ λιμοῦ πάθος καὶ πρὸς τοσαύτην στρατιὰν διαμάχεσθαι σπένδονταί τε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑπείκουσιν, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ τὸν βουλόμενον ἐπὶ τὰ ἐνδοτέρω Συρίας ἀκωλύτως χωρεῖν. ὁ δὲ [Νικ. Φωκᾶς] εἴξας καὶ τούτοις σπεισάμενος, θᾶττον ἐξιέναι τῆς πόλεως ἐκελεύσατο, τὰ σφῶν σώματα καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων μόνον περιφέροντες ἱματισμόν. οὕτω δὴ τὴν πόλιν αἱρεῖ...

καὶ λιπαροῦντες ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν ἀφεθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν παραδεδωκέναι πόλιν. ὁ δὲ ῥητόν τι φορτίον ἕκαστον ἀφεὶς ἀποφέρεσθαι, τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα πλοῦτον κατέσχε τῆς πόλεως.

4. Σχεδὸν τὰ ἴδια ἀναφέρουν κι᾽ οἱ δύο Βυζαντινοὶ ἱστορικοὶ γιὰ τὴν τύχη τῶν κατοίκων τῆς Μοψουεστίας καὶ τῆς Ταρσοῦ.

Ἰω. Σκυλίτζης

269.13 - 15. σφοδρότερον δὲ χρησαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, ἑάλω καὶ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος, [τῆς Μοψουεστίας] μηδενὸς ἐκεῖθεν διαφυγόντος.

269.24 - 25. ὁ δὲ [Λέων Φωκᾶς] ῥητὸν τὶ φορτίον ἕκαστον ἀφεὶς ἀποφέρεσθαι τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα πλοῦτον κατέσχε τῆς πόλεως [Ταρσοῦ].

Λ. Διάκονος

53.14 - 17. ἐπεὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐριπωθὲν πάροδον τοῖς βουλομένοις παρείχετο, πανουδὶ τῇ Μόψουεστίᾳ προσεπιβὰς [Νικ. Φωκᾶς] ταύτην ἠνδραποδίσατο, καὶ τοὺς παραλειφθέντας βαρβάρους δουλείᾳ παρέπεμψε. αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ κάλλιστα τῆς λείας ὑπεξελών, καὶ τῷ βασιλικῷ ταμείῳ προσαναθεὶς τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς τοῦ ἄστεος ἀνακαλεσάμενος. . .

60.19 - 21. ὁ δέ, [Νικ. Φωκᾶς] εἴξας καὶ τούτοις σπεισάμενος θᾶττον ἐξιέναι τῆς πόλεως [Ταρσοῦ] ἐκελεύσατο, τὰ σφῶν σώματα καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων μόνον περιφέροντες ἱματισμόν.

5. Ὁ Σκυλίτζης μιλάει καὶ γιὰ μιὰ καθυστερημένη βοήθεια ἀπὸ τὴν Αἴγυπτο.

Ἰω. Σκυλίτζης

269.26 - 270.33. Μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας τοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἁλῶναι στόλος μέγιστος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου βοηθήσων τῇ Ταρσῷ παρεγένετο, πλήρης ὑπάρχων σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαίων. οὐ συνεχωρήθη δὲ προσοχεῖν τῇ γῇ, οὐδ᾽ ἀποβῆναι

παρὰ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ταχθέντων τὴν παραλίαν τηρεῖν στρατιωτῶν καὶ μὴ ἔχοντες, ὅτι χρήσονται τοῖς παροῦσιν ὑπέστρεψαν, ναυαγίοις μεγάλοις περιπεσόντες ἀπό τε ἀνέμων ἀταξίας καὶ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως πολεμικῶν πλοίων.

Ἄραβες ἱστορικοὶ

Ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τοὺς δυὸ Βυζαντινοὺς ἱστορικοὺς καὶ δυὸ Ἄραβες περιγράφουν λεπτομερειακὰ τὴν ἅλωση τῶν δύο πόλεων, ὅπως προαναφέραμε: ὁ Yāqūt καὶ ὁ Ibn Miskawī. Θὰ δώσομε καὶ ἐδῶ παράλληλα ἀποσπάσματα ἀπὸ τὸ ἔργο τους σὲ ἑλληνικὴ μετάφραση.

1. Ὁ Yāqūt δὲν ἀναφέρει λεπτομέρειες γιὰ τὴν ἅλωση τῆς Μοψουεστίας· ἁπλῶς λέει πὼς κυριεύτηκε ἀπὸ τὸν Νικηφόρο Φωκᾶ. Ἀντίθετα ὁ Ibn Miskawī ἀναφέρει πολὺ περισσότερες λεπτομέρειες.

Ibn Miskawī

Ἦταν ἡ αἰτία γιὰ τὴν κατάκτηση τῆς Μασίσας [Μοψουεστίας] ὅτι οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ κατάστρεψαν τὰ τείχη της μὲ τὶς ὀπὲς ποὺ ἄνοιξαν σ' αὐτά. Ἕνας ἀπ' τοὺς Ἄραβες τῆς Μασίσας συμβούλεψε νὰ δώσουν στὸ βασιλιὰ Νικηφόρο τοὺς Βυζαντινοὺς αἰχμαλώτους γιὰ νὰ δείξει ἔλεος στοὺς Ἄραβες. Τοὺς ἔδωσαν. Οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι τότε εἰδοποίησαν τὸν Νικηφόρο Φωκᾶ γιὰ τὴν ἀνεπάρκεια τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ τὸν προέτρεψαν νὰ κατακτήσει τὴν πόλη. Ὁ Νικηφόρος ἐφόρμησε ἐναντίον της. Οἱ κάτοικοι τῆς Μασίσας πολέμησαν χιλιάδες στοὺς δρόμους καὶ σκότωσαν τέσσερεις ἀπ' τοὺς Βυζαντινούς, ἀλλὰ οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ τοὺς νίκησαν λόγῳ τῆς ἀριθμητικῆς τους ὑπεροχῆς καὶ τοὺς σκότωσαν.

Yāqūt

Τὸ ἔτος 354 [965] ὁ Νικηφόρος Φωκᾶς, βασιλιὰς τῶν Rum, ἔγινε κύριος τῆς μεθοριακῆς περιοχῆς (thughur) καὶ κατάκτησε τὴ Μασίσα [Μοψουεστία]. Μετὰ ἔφυγε ἀπὸ 'κεῖ καὶ κατευθύνθηκε πρὸς τὴν Ταρσὸ ὅπου βρισκόταν κάποιος ποὺ λεγόταν Ibn Zayyat ἀντιπρόσωπος τοῦ Sayf al-Dawla καὶ ὁ Rashiq al-Nasimi ἦταν κυβερνήτης τῆς πόλης.

2. Καὶ οἱ δύο Ἄραβες λένε πὼς ἡ Ταρσὸς «κυριεύτηκε» ἀπ' τὸν Νικηφόρο Φωκᾶ μὲ amān.[11]

Ibn Miskawī

Πῆραν ἑκατὸ ἀπ' τοὺς ἀρχηγούς τους [τῶν Ἀράβων τῆς Μασίσας] καὶ τοὺς ἐκτέλεσαν μπροστὰ στὴν Ταρσό. Γι' αὐτὸ ἔβγαλαν οἱ κάτοικοι τῆς Ταρσοῦ ὅσους Βυζαντινοὺς αἰχμαλώτους εἶχαν πάνω στὰ τείχη καὶ τοὺς ἐκτέλεσαν. Ἦταν τρεῖς χιλιάδες. Συγχρόνως ἔγινε ἰσχυρότερη ἡ πολιορκία στὴν Ταρσὸ καὶ πολλαπλασιάστηκαν οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ καὶ ἐξασθένησε τὸ θάρρος τῶν Μουσουλμάνων· λόγῳ τοῦ ὅτι οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ κυρίεψαν τὴ Μασίσα, ὑπῆρχε ἔλλειψη τροφίμων καὶ ἀκρίβεια καὶ ὁ Sayf al-Daula δὲ μποροῦσε νὰ τοὺς ἐνισχύσει καὶ διακόπηκε ἡ ἀποστολὴ προμηθειῶν. Ἡ πολιορκία κράτησε πολύ, ἡττήθηκαν οἱ Μουσουλμάνοι καὶ ἔστειλαν στὸν Νικηφόρο, τὸ βασιλιὰ τῶν Βυζαντινῶν, ἀπεσταλμένους γιὰ νὰ παραδώσουν τὴν πόλη μὲ amān, τοὺς ἑαυτούς τους καὶ τὴν περιουσία τους, καὶ νὰ ἐξασφαλίσουν αὐτὰ μὲ ὅρους καὶ ὅρκους. (Πράγμα ποὺ ἔγινε δεκτὸ ὅπως γράφει παρακάτω).

Yāqūt

. . . ἦταν κυβερνήτης τῆς πόλης [Ταρσοῦ]. Τότε ὁ Νικηφόρος Φωκᾶς κάλεσε τοὺς κατοίκους τῆς πόλης νὰ δεχτοῦν τὸ amān μὲ τὸν ὅρο ὅτι ὅποιοι ἀπ' τοὺς Μουσουλμάνους ἀποφασίσουν νὰ φύγουν θὰ μποροῦσαν νὰ μεταφέρουν μαζί τους ὁτιδήποτε ἀπ' τὸ ρουχισμό τους καὶ τὴν κινητὴ περιουσία τους· ὡς πρὸς τὰ σπίτια τους καὶ τὰ χωράφια τους, αὐτὰ θὰ τὰ ἔπαιρναν οἱ Βυζαντινοί. Ἔβαλε ἐπίσης σὰν ὅρο τὴν καταστροφὴ τῶν τζαμιῶν καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν χώρων. Ἐκεῖνοι πάλι ποὺ ἐπιθυμοῦσαν νὰ παραμείνουν στὴ χώρα θὰ ἦταν «ὑπὸ προστασίαν» καὶ θὰ πλήρωναν φόρο· ὅσοι γίνονταν χριστιανοὶ θὰ εἶχαν τὴν εὔνοια τοῦ βασιλιᾶ καὶ τὰ ἀγαθά τους θὰ ἔμεναν στὰ χέρια τους. (Πράγμα ποὺ ἔγινε δεκτὸ ὅπως γράφει παρακάτω).

3. Ὁ Yāqūt βάζει καὶ ἕνα ἐπεισόδιο ποὺ ὁ Ibn Miskawī παραλείπει.

> Καὶ ὁ Abu Kasim Tanukhi εἶπε:
> Μὲ πληροφόρησαν μερικοὶ ποὺ ἐγκατέλειψαν αὐτὴ τὴ μεθοριακὴ περιοχὴ ὅτι ὁ Νικηφόρος Φωκᾶς ὅταν κατάκτησε τὴν Ταρσὸ ἔστησε ἔξω

11. Γιὰ τὸν ὅρο amān βλ. λ. *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, I, 1960².

ἀπ' αὐτὴ δύο σημαῖες καὶ εἶπε ὁ κήρυκας: ὅποιος θέλει τὴ χώρα τοῦ φιλέσπλαχνου βασιλιᾶ εἶναι αὐτὸς ποὺ ἀγαπᾶ τὴ δικαιοσύνη, τὴν ἰσότητα, τὴν ἀσφάλεια τῆς περιουσίας του, τὴν οἰκογένειά του, τὴν ψυχή του, τὰ παιδιά του, τὴν ἀσφάλεια στὶς κινήσεις του, τοὺς ὑγιεῖς νόμους, τὴν καλὴ συμπεριφορά, τὴν ἀσφάλεια τῶν γυναικῶν κλπ. καὶ ὑποσχέθηκε πολλὰ ὡραῖα πράγματα γιὰ νὰ προσελκύσει κόσμο κάτω ἀπ' τὴ σημαία αὐτὴ καὶ νὰ ἀκολουθήσει τὸ Βυζαντινὸ βασιλιά. Ὅποιος πάλι θέλει τὴ μοιχεία, τὴν ὁμοφυλοφιλία, τὴν ἀδικία, τὴν αὐθαίρετη φορολογία, τὸ παράνομο πάρσιμο τῆς περιουσίας καὶ ἄλλες παρόμοιες ἀσχήμιες νὰ πάει κάτω ἀπ' τὴ σημαία τοῦ Ἰσλάμ.

4. Οἱ Ἄραβες συγγραφεῖς παρουσιάζουν διαφορὲς περιγράφοντας τὴν τύχη τῶν Μουσουλμάνων τῆς Ταρσοῦ μετὰ τὴν κατάκτησή της ἀπὸ τοὺς Βυζαντινούς.

Ibn Miskawī

Καὶ μπῆκε μέρος ἀπ' τοὺς Βυζαντινοὺς μέσα στὴν πόλη [Ταρσὸ] καὶ ἀγόρασαν ἀπ' τοὺς Μουσουλμάνους ὡραῖα ροῦχα καὶ διάφορα ἀντικείμενα κι' οἱ Μουσουλμάνοι ἀγόρασαν ἀπ' τοὺς Βυζαντινοὺς ζῶα μεταφορᾶς γιὰ νὰ τοὺς μεταφέρουν γιατὶ δὲν εἶχαν ζῶα καθὼς τὰ εἶχαν φάει. Οἱ Μουσουλμάνοι τέλος βγῆκαν ἀπ' τὴν πόλη μὲ τὶς γυναῖκες τους, τὰ ὅπλα τους καὶ τὰ ἀγαθά τους... Μετὰ ἔκανε ὁ Νικηφόρος Φωκᾶς πρόσκληση στοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τῆς Ταρσοῦ καὶ τοὺς μοίρασε δῶρα καὶ τοὺς ἔδωσε στρατὸ γιὰ νὰ τοὺς συνοδέψει μέχρι ποὺ ἔφτασαν στὸ Bibigras· κι' ἔφτασαν 5.000 ἀπ' αὐτοὺς στὴν Ἀντιόχεια καὶ τοὺς τίμησε ὁ λαός της. Μετὰ μπῆκαν μέσα στὴν Ταρσὸ οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ καὶ ἔκαψαν τοὺς μιναρέδες καὶ ἔκαναν τὰ τζαμιὰ σταύλους.

Yāqūt

Καὶ μπῆκαν οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ στὴν Ταρσὸ καὶ κάθε ἕνας ἀπ' τοὺς Βυζαντινοὺς πῆρε ἕνα μουσουλμανικὸ σπίτι καὶ τὸ περιεχόμενό του, μετὰ στάθηκε μπρὸς ἀπὸ τὴν πόρτα καὶ δὲν ἄφηνε στοὺς ἰδιοκτῆτες Μουσουλμάνους (ποὺ εἶχαν ἀποφασίσει νὰ φύγουν ἀπ' τὴν πόλη) παρὰ ὅτι ἦταν εὐκολομετακίνητα καὶ τοὺς ἐμπόδιζαν νὰ πάρουν ἄλλα. Ὅταν ἔβλεπαν ὅτι οἱ Μουσουλμάνοι ἔφευγαν τότε ἔμπαιναν μέσα οἱ Χριστιανοὶ καὶ ἔπαιρναν ὅτι ὑπῆρχε. Κι' ἄφηναν τοὺς Μωαμεθανοὺς συζύγους τους οἱ Βυζαντινὲς ὅταν ἔβλεπαν τοὺς συμπατριῶτες τους. Καὶ ἔλεγαν: εἴμαστε ἐλεύθερες τώρα, δὲν ἔχομε ἀνάγκη τὴ συντροφιά σας. Μερικὲς ἔρριξαν τὰ παιδιά τους στοὺς πατεράδες τους καὶ μερικὲς ἐμπόδιζαν τὸν πατέρα τῶν παιδιῶν τους νὰ τὰ πάρει καὶ τὰ πῆραν νὰ τὰ μεγαλώσουν σὰ χριστιανούς. Μερικοὶ ἔρχονταν στὸ βυζαντινὸ στρατὸ καὶ χαιρετοῦσαν τὰ παιδιά τους καὶ ἔκλαιγαν καὶ φώναζαν, φεύγοντας σὲ κακὴ κατάσταση, μέχρι ποὺ ἔκλαιγαν καὶ οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ ἀπὸ λύπηση γι' αὐτούς. Ζήτησαν οἱ Μουσουλμάνοι μέσα μεταφορᾶς καὶ δὲ βρῆκαν παρὰ Βυζαντινοὺς ποὺ τοὺς χρέωσαν μὲ τὸ ἕνα τρίτο τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τους σὰ νοίκι γιὰ νὰ τοὺς μεταφέρουν μέχρι τὴν Ἀντιόχεια.

5. Ὁ Ibn Miskawī μιλᾶ γιὰ καθυστερημένη βοήθεια ἀπ' τὴν Αἴγυπτο.

Ἔτυχε νὰ ἔλθει ὁ Fath al-Thımlī ἀπὸ τὴν Αἴγυπτο μὲ πλοῖα καὶ τὸ ἔμαθε ὁ Νικηφόρος Φωκᾶς. Εἶπε στοὺς κατοίκους τῆς Ταρσοῦ «προδώσατε», αὐτοὶ ἀπάντησαν «ὁρκιζόμαστε ὅτι δὲ θὰ προδίδαμε ἔστω κι' ἂν ἔρχονταν ὅλοι οἱ δυνατοὶ τοῦ Ἰσλάμ». Καὶ ὁ Νικηφόρος Φωκᾶς ἔστειλε στὸν Thimlī εἰδοποίηση νὰ μὴν καταστρέψει τὴ συνθήκη κι ἐκεῖνος ἔφυγε.

Συμπεράσματα

Συνοψίζοντας παρατηροῦμε ὅτι Βυζαντινοὶ καὶ Ἄραβες τοποθετοῦν τὴν ἅλωση τῆς Ταρσοῦ τὸ 965. Ἀντίθετα στὴν ἅλωση τῆς Μοψουεστίας ὑπάρχει μιὰ διαφωνία. Ἐνῶ καὶ αὐτὴ ἀπὸ τὸν Σκυλίτζη καὶ τοὺς δύο Ἄραβες ἱστορι-

κούς, Ibn Miskawī καὶ Yāqūt, τοποθετεῖται τὸ 965, ὁ Λέων Διάκονος τὴ χρονολογεῖ τὸ 964.

Σύγχρονοι ἱστορικοὶ[12] συνήθως τὴν τοποθετοῦν τὸ 965, ἀκολουθώντας τὸν Σκυλίτζη. Πρέπει ὅμως νὰ λάβουμε ὑπόψη ὅτι ὁ Λ. Διάκονος εἶναι σύγχρονος μὲ τὰ γεγονότα ἐνῶ ὁ Σκυλίτζης εἶναι ἱστορικὸς ποὺ ζεῖ τέλη 11ου ἀρχὲς 12ου αἰ. περίπου.

Ὁ Ἰω. Σκυλίτζης διαφωνεῖ στὴν ἅλωση τῆς Ταρσοῦ. Ἐνῶ δηλαδὴ ὅλοι οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἱστορικοὶ ἰσχυρίζονται πὼς ὁ Νικ. Φωκᾶς κυρίεψε τὴν Ταρσό, ὁ Σκυλίτζης παρουσιάζει τὸν ἀδελφὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορα, Λέοντα Φωκᾶ, νὰ τὴν κυριεύει. Σύγχρονοι ἱστορικοὶ σ' αὐτὴ τὴν περίπτωση ἀποφεύγουν νὰ κάνουν ρητὰ λόγο γιὰ τὸ ποιὸς κατέλαβε τὴν Ταρσό, π.χ. ὁ G. Ostrogorsky[13]. Ἐνῶ ὁ Ζακυθηνὸς[14] καὶ ὁ Ἄμαντος[15] ἀναφέρουν σὰ στενὸ συνεργάτη τοῦ Φωκᾶ τὸν Τζιμισκῆ.

Ὡς πρὸς τὰ γεγονότα μετὰ τὴν ἅλωση τῶν πόλεων ἐκτενέστερα μιλοῦν οἱ Ἄραβες ἱστορικοί. Ἀντίθετα οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ ἀσχολοῦνται κυρίως μὲ τὸ πῶς ἔγινε ἡ κατάληψη τῶν πόλεων.

Τέλος ἡ περιγραφὴ τῆς κατάληψης τῆς Μοψουεστίας ποὺ κάνει ὁ Ibn Miskawī θυμίζει ἀμυδρὰ Λ. Διάκονο, ἐνῶ γιὰ τὴ βοήθεια ἀπὸ τὴν Αἴγυπτο κάνουν λόγο μόνο οἱ Σκυλίτζης κι' Ibn Miskawī.

Οἱ Ἄραβες ἱστορικοὶ καὶ ἰδιαίτερα ὁ Ibn Miskawī περιγράφουν μὲ δραματικότητα τὴν ἐγκατάλειψη τῆς Ταρσοῦ ἀπὸ τὸν μουσουλμανικὸ πληθυσμό της. Ἦταν φυσικὸ νὰ ἔχει ἰδιαίτερη σημασία γι' αὐτοὺς ἡ τύχη τῶν συμπατριωτῶν τους καὶ ἡ ταπείνωση τοῦ πληθυσμοῦ τοῦ πιὸ δοξασμένου μουσουλμανικοῦ λιμανιοῦ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς Μεσογείου. Ἰδιαίτερα ρεαλιστικὴ παρουσιάζεται ἡ στάση τῶν Βυζαντινῶν γυναικῶν τῶν Μουσουλμάνων. Ἦταν γυναῖκες ποὺ εἶχαν αἰχμαλωτισθεῖ καὶ οἱ συνθῆκες τὶς ὑποχρέωσαν νὰ παντρευτοῦν μὲ τοὺς Ἄραβες κατακτητές[16].

Τὸ ἴδιο φυσικὸ εἶναι νὰ περιγράφουν οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ μὲ ὅσο περισσότερες λεπτομέρειες τὴν ἅλωση τῶν δύο πόλεων, κατορθώματα ἀληθινὰ ἀξιοθαύμαστα ἂν λάβομε ὑπόψη μας τὴν ὀχύρωση καὶ τὶς δυνατότητες τῶν δυὸ πόλεων.

12. Βλ. G. Ostrogorsky, Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates³, München 1963. Ἑλλην. μετάφρ. ἀπὸ Ἰω. Παναγόπουλο, τ. II, Ἀθήνα 1979, σ. 170. Βλ. καὶ Δ. Ζακυθηνοῦ, *Βυζαντινὴ Ἱστορία 324 - 1071*, ἀνατ. μετὰ βιβλιογραφικῶν συμπληρωμάτων, Ἀθήνα 1977, σ. 379 καὶ Κ. Ἄμαντου, *Ἱστορία Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους 867 - 1204*, τ. II, Ἀθήνα 1977, σ. 121.

13. G. Ostrogorsky, ὅ.π. σ. 170.

14. Δ. Ζακυθηνοῦ, ὅ.π. σ. 379.

15. Κ. Ἄμαντου, ὅ.π. σ. 121.

16. Καὶ τὰ δύο αὐτὰ κείμενα ἔχουν ἐκδοθεῖ ἀπὸ τὸν Marius Canard, χωρὶς μετάφραση, στὸ ἔργο του *Sayf al-Daula*, Alger 1934, σ. 182 - 184 καὶ 187 - 189.

Ἡ συμπεριφορὰ τοῦ Νικηφόρου Φωκᾶ, ὅπως παρουσιάζεται στὶς ἀραβικὲς πηγές, συμφωνεῖ μὲ τὸν συνηθισμένο τρόπο ποὺ ἀκολουθοῦσε ὁ Βυζαντινὸς αὐτὸς στρατηγὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἡττημένους Μουσουλμάνους, ὅπως φαίνεται στὴν ἅλωση τῆς Κρήτης: ἐπιείκεια στοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ καταστροφὴ τῶν μουσουλμανικῶν μνημείων[17].

S. Apostolopoulou
Thessaloniki

17. Β. Χρηστίδης, Ἡ κατάληψη τῆς Κρήτης ἀπὸ τοὺς Ἄραβες (±824), σ. 161 - 162.

C. P. CAVAFY, “ΕΠΙΣΤΡΟΦΗ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ”*

الشاعر اليوناني المشهور كافافس عاش معظم سنين
حياته في الاسكندرية المصرية فاحبه مثل وطنه الثاني.

في أشعاره التاريخية سرد وذكر بإستمرار عن الاسكندرية
الكثير.

في العصر الهلنستي نرى أن اليونانيين الذين عاشوا في الاسكندرية
في ذلك العصر كانوا يلتقون في بعض النقاط مع اليونانيين الذين
عاشوا في عصر كافافس في مصر. ولكن بالطبع كانت هنالك
إختلافات كثيرة بينهم.

كافافس في قصيدته (الرجوع من اليونان) عبر عن شعور اليونانيين
الذين عاشوا في مصر من ناحية أصلهم اليوناني ومن الناحية الأخرى إغترابهم
وبعدهم عن وطنهم الأم.

*Edmund Keeley and George Savidis, eds. and trans., *C. P. Cavafy Passions and Ancient Days*, New York 1971, p. 39-41.

الرجوع من اليونان

حسناً فها نحن قد إقتربنا (إرمي)
بعد الغد يبدو كما تقول الربان
على الأفق من بحرنا نبحر
مياه قبرص وسوريا ومصر
مياه أوطاننا المحبوبة
لماذا هذا الصمت؟ أسأل فؤادك
وها نحن من اليونان قد إبتعدنا
ألست بسعيد أنت. إبتسم انه نتملق على انفسنا
وهذا اكيد ليس من طبائع اليونانيين.

ولكني لنعترف للحقيقة
نحن اليونانيين ونحن ... هاذا نتكلم نحن
ولكن بالحب والعواطف الأسيوية
ولكن بالحب والعواطف ....
وهذا اكيد ليس من طبائع اليونانيين

ليس من شيمتنا (إرمي) نحن الفلاسفة
لنشبه ملوكنا الصغار
أتتذكر كيف ضحكنا عليهم
عندما زارونا في غرف إستذكارنا
ومظهرهم الخارجي يدل على اليونانية
(هاذا القول) هكدونيا!
ومع كل فترة سيطلع عربي

Z. IZZELDIN ELAMIN

BOOK REVIEWS

APOSTOLOS KARPOZELOS, *'Ιωάννου Νομικοπούλου, "Εκφρασις Αἰθίοπος καὶ ἵππου πάνυ ταλαιπωρημένου*, Δωδώνη 9 (1980), p. 285 - 297.

A very interesting work recently appeared under the title 'Ιωάννου Νομικοπούλου, "Εκφρασις Αἰθίοπος * καὶ ἵππου πάνυ ταλαιπωρημένου, in which A. Karpozelos discusses some important problems arising from the study of the text of Codex Fitzmilliem Museum 229 (p. 13 - 14). The author has edited the text and supplemented a commentary at the end of his work.

As a preface to the edition, Karpozelos examines problems relating to the Byzantine author of the text, Ioannes Nomikopoulos, and places his work in the twelfth century. He persuasively concludes that the text was written in Constantinople.

In spite of its title "Εκφρασις, this text is nothing but a real letter. Central to this letter is the author's description of a dark servant who appears as a messenger, carrying a miserable horse as a gift from the sender.

Concentrating on this description, Karpozelos makes a special effort to trace in the sources the conception of Blacks by the Byzantines. He postulates that in the Roman and Byzantine Empires, we do not, in general, meet any anti-black feelings. This is correct, though there are a number of exceptions. In addition, Karpozelos correctly observes that "beauty" is synonymous with whiteness and blodness (see examples in Karpozelos' article, p. 289 - 291). However, a recent article by O.A.W. Dilke *(Heliodorus and the Color Problem*, La Parola del Passato CXCIII (1980), p. 264-271) illustrates a different attitude, at least in the Late Roman Empire. In Heliodorus' *Ethiopica* we meet the familiar modern

* For the words Αἰθίοπες - Αἰθιοπία see the article of D. Georgacas, The names Αἰθίοπες - Aethiopes and Αἰθιοπία - Aethiopia, Sicalorum Gymnasioum 31[1] (1978) 309 - 311.

dictum "black is beautiful" and pride in blackness, but without contempt for white beauty.

Since black people were rarely seen in the Byzantine Empire in the twelfth century, it is natural that any appearance of dark skinned Byzantines would become the target of satyric attacks. Karpozelos argues that Nomikopoulos, inspired by the liberal spirit of the Comnenoi, takes an everyday event, i.e., the appearance of a dark skinned messenger carrying a miserable horse, and develops it into a charming humorous account. Karpozelos points that with this naturalistic description of a Byzantine darker than the rest, Nomikopoulos in the twelfth century manages to convey something different from the rather stereotyped descriptions of imaginary Blacks in the tenth century, which were simply literary clichés.

While Karpozelos' arguments are persuasive for Nomikopoulos' use of the dark skinned messenger, his repetition of A. P. Kazhdan's view *(Some Questions Addressed to the Scholars Who Believe in the Authenticity of Kaminiates' 'Capture of Thessalonika'*, BZ 71 (1978), p. 301 - 314), concerning the use of stereotyped motifs of Blacks by the Byzantine authors of the earlier periods, needs some clarification.

Kazhdan's view can be applied only to those Byzantine authors who living in Constantinople or other places never had a chance to meet black people.

On the other hand, the authors of the *Narrations of Nilus Sinaiticus* and the *Narrations of Ammonius* (4th-5th centuries A. D.) were Byzantine monks who lived in the monasteries of Sina, and had first-hand experience with the black Blemmyes who had raided Sina. Moreover, the Blemmyes are clearly depicted as black people in some Byzantine illuminations. (V. Christides, *Pre-Islamic Arabs in Byzantine Illuminations*, Le Museon 83 (1970), p. 167 - 181; idem, *Once Again the Narrations of Nilus Sinaiticus*, Byzantion 43 (1973), p. 39 - 50; idem, *Ethnic Movements in Southern Egypt and Northern Sudan*, Listy Filologické 103.3 (1980), p. 130).

Two other Byzantine authors, who lived in Thebes of Egypt, Nonnus (4th century) and the unknown author of the epic *Blemmyomachia* (4th-5th centuries), also wrote about the black Sudanese tribe of Blemmyes. (R. Dostálova - Jeništová, *Bǎje o eponymovi Blemyu u Nonna*, Listy Filologické 79 (1956), p. 174 - 177; E. Livrea, *Chi è l'autore della Blemmyomachia? (Pap. Ber.* 5003*)*, Prometheus 2 (1976), p. 97 - 123). They needed no literary clichés, since they lived next door to the black Sudanese.

After the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs in the middle of the seventh century, the Byzantines were cut off from any contact with the black Sudanese. Nevertheless, direct contact was renewed again on the battlefield in the tenth century. The most striking example appears in Leo of Tripoli's sack of Thessaloniki (904). The Egyptian army, which had joined Leo in this raid, included a large number of Sudanese. Actually, in the tenth century entire contingents of the Egyptian army were solely composed of Blacks. (B. I. Beshir, *New Light on Nubian Fatimid Relations*, Arabica 22[1] (1975), p. 21; L. Török, *Money, Economy and Administration in Christian Nubia*, Études Nubiennes 77 (1978) p. 300ff). Therefore, Caminiates, who was an eyewitness of Leo's raid and saw his black Sudanese units, and who was a victim himself, did not need to unearth any literary sources to describe these Blacks. But, as has been said, in the twelfth century no Byzantines had a chance to meet black people and this rarity offered ample ground to Nomikopoulos' pen to develop a charming satire of a dark skinned messenger.

Karpozelos' edition of Nomikopoulos' text, completed with a useful commentary is a boom to this short but illuminating article.

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Richard W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Harvard University Press 1979)

Dr. Bulliet is already well known for his sound scholarship and innovative approach to important problems in Middle Eastern history. His latest contribution furthers his reputation as a scholar and a leader in the field of Islamic social history. Research concerning the conversion to Islam by the indigenous populations that were thrust under the hegemony of this new faith by their conquerors has been rare and inconclusive. As Bulliet points out, "the process involved no missionaries, bishops, baptismal rites, or other indicators of conversion that could be conveniently recorded by the Muslim chronicler". (p. 4). Historians have had to study this phenomenon through the scant documentary sources left by dissapearing non-Muslim religious hierarchies or through imprecise statements colored by the prejudice of the threatened remnants of once dominant majorities. Thus it is with special interest that we welcome

Bulliet's contribution of an ingenious method for the study of this phenomenon utilizing well-known sources that have hitherto remained untapped.

Bulliet draws upon his extensive knowledge of Medieval Muslim biographical dictionaries and the patterns of first-name giving they contain, to construct a quantitative analysis of the conversion process. He postulates that there is a fundamental relationship between the conversion to Islam and the development of an Islamic society. Accordingly, such a society cannot exist until the Muslim element is a majority and feels no threat to the permanence of the new faith. Central to Bulliet's thesis is the idea that although completion of the conversion process chronologically differed from region to region, the incorporation of large numbers of non-Arab converts caused the conversion process to take on a particular pattern which profoundly affected institutional developments. The thesis is noteworthy for its simplicity and its fundamental importance for understanding the Muslim states that were established during the Medieval period and necessitates a reconsideration of the traditional chronology used to study Muslim political and institutional developments. Although Bulliet is careful to point out that further research is necessary before his chronologies for conversion in Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Tunisia, Syria, and Spain can be accepted, he has established parameters within which the process must be studied with more traditional methods. Towards this purpose he juxtaposes his chronologies for the six regions with the course of historical development in each one. The results, although tentative, go far towards supporting his general analysis.

The quantitative method itself is also explained in some detail, and it is illustrated with clarity. Bulliet points out that although he is using statistical methods to study religious conversion, this method has already been used by historians for the study of technological innovation and ideological change. If plentiful sources could be found, might not this method prove useful in other areas of medieval history as well? Recently Dr. Laiou - Thomadakis, a Byzantinist, has subjected ecclesiastic inventories of landed possessions to quantitative analysis for the purpose of studying Byzantine rural society. Certainly, a great number of medieval sources could be used in this way to give us new data with which to approach old questions.

After his introductory remarks, Bulliet illustrates the chronological diversity of his sources by subjecting one of them to quantitative analysis. In the chapter entitled "Regional Variation in Islamic History" he presents and analyses a graph showing the proportional representa-

tion of regions contained in a particularly rich 17th century biographical dictionary entitled *Shadharat adh-dhahab fi akhbar man dhahab* (Nuggest of gold in the stories of those who have passed away) which contains 6113 biographies that ascribe a place of origin for their subject. He finds that the proportional representation of biographies to regions closely corresponds to the generally acepted course of Islamic history. The reason for this correspondence is not accidental, but reflects the prevalence of learned religious figures in a particular time and place, which is not always connected with political prominence, but indicative of a climate conducive to intellectual endeavor. Bulliet suggests that the representation of biographies on the graph reflects the percentage of Muslims in the population of a given area. Thus, the fact that one area represents a larger percentage of biographies at an earlier period than another might reflect a more rapid rate of conversion. Given this methodology, he concludes that Iran shows the most rapid rate of conversion at the earliest period.

In his next chapter Bulliet subjects six thousand biographies contained in Iranian biographical dictionaries to quantitative analysis. This material allows him to focus upon 469 genealogies which indicate a Persian name belonging to the first family member to convert. He then assigns a rough date for when this original conversion occurred. After categorizing this material into a form he can subject to established statistical methods, he plots the material and obtains bell and S-shaped cumulative curves. The result is that the conversion pattern matches exactly the pattern that has repeatedly emerged from the study of innovation diffusion in the twentieth century. Bulliet explains that according to this scheme, a few innovators first adopt a new technique after which it catches on to produce a "bandwagon effect" indicated by a steep rise in the middle of his conversion curve, which finally descends as a steadily diminishing number of new adopters opt for the new technique in a saturated market (p. 28). A key element in the functioning of this process is access to information concerning the innovation. Bulliet is quick to point out that access to information is also a prerequisite for conversion as well. These comparisons then lead him to borrow a set of terms used by specialists of innovation diffusion to indicate the probability of conversion for the various percentages of converts who converted at a particular time, as indicated on his bell and cumulative S-shaped curves. He calls the first 2.5 percent "innovators", the next 13.5 percent "early adopters", the next 34 percent the "early majority, the next 34 percent the "late majority" and the final 16 percent "laggards".

In chapters four and five, Bulliet sets aside his ubiquitous graphs and statistical data to discuss what conversion to Islam meant to the individual convert in the context of medieval Middle Eastern society. He points out that in this context religion was the focus of an individual's social identity. Thus a change of faith meant a change of community in which the convert sought an improved or similar status with that of his former affiliation. If elements of functional social institutions which delineate the convert's rights and obligations in this new community are missing, pressure will be brought to bear by the newcomers for their creation. It is this social aspect of the conversion process rather than the formal act of adoption which profoundly affected the course of Islamic religious development. Bulliet reminds us that for Arabs tribal custom was more socially meaningful than religion. Thus, it was the non-Arab convert that brought pressure to bear for the socialization of Islamic thought. During the "innovator" to "early majority" period of the conversion process these non-Arab converts (mawali), were discriminated against by Arab Muslims, but as their number grew they forced a change in what was a highly discriminatory situation.

He goes on to show that when the chronology of the conversion process is compared with major political and social developments in Iran, a particular pattern is discernible. The conflict between earlier and later converts manifests itself in a period of anti-Muslim revolts before the midpoint of the conversion process was reached, followed by the establishment of independent Muslim dynasties which stimulate increased factional conflct of a religious coloration as the society reaches a 90% conversion level. His analysis of this process in medieval Iran is the most convincing and interesting section of the entire book, because he not only bases his quantitative model on a large number of geneologies but also makes use of established primary and secondary sources for his analysis. Thus he is able to explain such political and social phenomena as the Abassid revolution, the emergence of the Handalis and Shafi'is, and the transformation of early Arab administrative centers into large Muslim cities with elaborate religious and social institutions dominated by an urban elite. The conflict between early majority converts, who make up this urban elite and control the ulama, and the late majority converts who resent their dominance leads to the establishment of such phenomena as the Shafii law school, Ashari theology and Sufism. The study of the process of conversion in Iran thus places well known Iranian developments in the context of a dynamic social and religious transformation which helps us understand their origin and role in the establishment of the new Muslim society.

In the second half of his book Bulliet subjects his data to a different type of analysis and embarks upon a series of more speculative inquiries. Having established a schema for the conversion process in Iran, he now proceeds to discuss another phenomenon his biographical dictionaries contain. This analysis is based on the observation that the 469 geneologies he has already studied contain particular categories of names which can also be subjected to quantitative analysis and applied to the entire collection of 6,000 biographies instead of just the subgroup previously studied. When Bulliet examines the source material and categorizes the names the converts selected according to whether they were obviously Muslim names (such as Muhamhad, Ahmad, or Al-Husain), names that occur in both biblical and Quranic traditions (such as Ibrahim, Isma'il or Yusuf) or pre-Islamic Arab names (such as Habib, Sahl or al-Fadl), he finds that his bell and S-shaped curves indicate a significant pattern. During the innovator" period of conversion to Islam, pre-Islamic names dominate but decline sharply as the period of "early adoptors" begins. At this point both Muslim religious and biblical-Quaranic names sharply increase. In the "early majority" period of Iranian conversion (752 - 820 A.D.) the distinctly Muslim names become dominant and decline during the following "late majority" period. This change occurs during the midpoint of the Iranian conversion process; that is, in the "late majority period" (836 A.D.). This is the point at which Bulliet's data indicates that at least half of the population sample has converted. This correlation between the midpoint of the conversion process and the peak of the popularity of ostentatiously Muslim names is highly significant, according to Bulliet, and indicates that his general analysis of the Iranian material is correct. He reasons that the first converts to Islam very logically chose names from the pre-Islamic Arab onomasticon in order to more closely identify themselves with the small Arab elite that made up Muslim society during the period following the conquest. As more and more non-Arabs converted a premium was no longer placed upon tribal affiliation, and so converts chose either distinctly Muslim religious names or biblical-Quranic names that allowed them to hide their new religious affiliation from the nonMuslim majority of the population, if they chose to do so. With the increase of converts in the population, the latter was no longer necessary and so distinctly Muslim religious names predominate. During the period beyond the midpoint of the conversion process this phenomenon declines because the society has so throughly become Muslim that cal-

ling attention to your conversion is no longer necessary. By the year 1000 it was again acceptable to have a Persian instead of a distinctly Muslim name.

Having now correlated the process of conversion in Iran with the popularity curve of Muslim names and having found that the midpoint of the conversion process coincides with the preponderance of distinctly Muslim names within the society, Bulliet reasons that he can produce a hypothetical bell and S-shaped curve for any area given the date of the start of the conversion process and the date of the preponderance of distinctly Muslim names (p. 78). Due to the nature and limited amount of source material, he can only produce two-category popularity name curves for Iraq, Egypt, Syria and Tunisia which make his analysis highly suspect and open to criticism. But given this important limitation, when he juxtaposes his hypothetical conversion curves with what is known concerning political and social events in the above four areas, the sequence of events do seem to follow the conversion process previously described in Iran. The differences are explained by Bulliet in the context of how the circumstances of the particular area being studied differ from those of medieval Iran. Thus, for example, we cannot distinguish anti-Muslim revolts in Syria durng the "early majority" period because of the disintegration and fall of the Umayyad dynasty which occurs at the same time and does not allow us to distinguish it from the general chaos. To some it may seem that the author conveniently explains away factors in each of these areas which do not fit his general theory. This would indeed seem to be the case if it were not for the more reliable analysis the source material from Medieval Spain allows. Here biographies are both abundant and subject to the more detailed analysis done to create the Iranian model. Bulliet is able to study 154 Spanish geneologies and to plot both conversion and Muslim name popularity curves based on this material. He finds that the midpoint of Spanish conversion is about 1107 A.D., but Spain is not an exact equivalent to the Iranian pattern. The process is complicated by an earlier conversion process which Bulliet shows includes only Berbers (about 913 A.D.). But despite some anomalies, the similarity of the sequence of political events to the stages of the conversion process in both Spain and Iran go far to tentatively confirm the general soundness of his quantitative analysis.

The book contains many graphs that illustrate its main points. For those unfamiliar with statistical methodology this aspect will seem both suspicious and make the arguments put forth somewhat difficulte to follow. Ultimately, Bulliet's analysis cannot be proven by the methods and data used. The author repeatedly emphasizes this throughout his book. His purpose is to pose some new questions and stimulate empirical research. Certainly this thought provoking analysis amply succeeds in this basic goal. The book allows a glimpse at medieval Islamic society in formation in a way that our traditional sources do not. Whether ultimately proven correct or not, Bulliet's analysis is certainly an important addition to the scanty literature on conversion to Islam.

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